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MEMOIRS

OF

WARREN HASTINGS,

LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRITISH
INDIA.

One of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council,

LLD. and F.RS.

Including his Correspondence with Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

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MEMOIRS

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WARREN HASTINGS,

LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRITISH
INDIA.

The Right Honorable Warren Hastings, late Governor General of British India, one of His Majesty's most honorable privy council, L.L.D. and F.R.S., traced his descent from a very ancient and respectable family at Daylesford, in the county of Worcester, where his remote ancestors had for many ages held a considerable landed estate. This estate had been alienated in 1715, continued out of the family for two generations, and was re-purchased by Mr. Hastings in 1789. He was born in the year 1733. His father, who was a clergyman and enjoyed a benefice at Churchill, a village near Daylesford, in Worcestershire, seems neither to have inherited affluence, nor to have amassed a fortune; and dying while Warren was of tender years, left him unprovided for.

The care of his education devolved on an uncle, Mr. Howard Hastings, who sent him Westminster school. At

this seminary he exhibited marks of superior genius, and won the friendly regard of Dr. Nichols, the head master. His great proficiency in literature did credit as well to the preceptor as the pupil; and when he left Westminster, he was esteemed one of the best scholars of that foundation. He was removed to Oxford at sixteen, but had scarcely become a resident there, when the death of his uncle consigned him to other guardians. Dr. Nichols generously offered to furnish money to complete his education at the university; but Mr. Creswick, an India director, and executor to his uncle, proposed to send him to Bengal with a writer's appointment.

Young Warren availed himself of Mr. Creswick's patronage, and sailing from England in the winter of 1749, arrived at Calcutta in the ensuing summer. His course of education for public business, answering to the preparatory interval consumed in studying one of the learned professions, may be dated from this period. Mr. Hastings says of himself, in his defence during the impeachment, "With the year 1750, I entered the service of the East India Company; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, all the knowledge which I possess and all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it." His early initiation into habits of business may have its advantages in a few rare instances, i. e. when the youth has already a manly intellect; when the value of every redeemable opportunity for improvement is perceived by native sagacity, and the premature separation from compulsory studies is compensated by voluntary application. Mr. Hastings was first attached to one of the factories in Bengal. In affairs which depended on in-

dustry, he was indefatigable ; where genius could shorten the way to a successful conclusion, he shewed acuteness and invention. After the daily requisitions of office were satisfied, he had some hours which he might either waste or improve. In these he gave himself assiduously to the study of the Persian and Hindustanee languages, and to the cultivation of those attainments which increased his qualification for the Company's service. At the same time, he began to observe the relations of the native powers with the eye of a statesman. His application was crowned with such rapid advances in commercial and political knowledge, that he was selected by the residency to attempt the establishing of a factory in the interior parts of Bengal, where no European had hitherto penetrated ; and though the design was then defeated by the sudden intervention of a turbulent period, he conciliated the esteem of the natives among whom he had resided.

In 1756, Surajah Dowlah having made himself master of Calcutta, issued orders for the seizing of all the English in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was one of those who were carried prisoners to Moorsshedabad, that tyrant's capital. Even at that court he had already inspired with personal respect, men who had the power to protect him. He was treated with humanity, received many distinguishing attentions, and was permitted to reside at the Dutch factory of Calcutta.

When Colonel Clive retook Calcutta, Mr. Hastings served as a volunteer in his army. Surajah Dowlah, who had aimed at the expulsion of the English, exhibited a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. His defeat at Plassey by Colonel Clive was followed by his dethronement, and

the substitution of Meer Jaffier. This revolution took place in 1757, and made it expedient to have a resident at the court of the Nabob. Colonel Clive shewed that discernment of men which marked his character, by selecting Mr. Hastings to act as the honorable Company's minister. As his zeal and fidelity in previous duties led to this appointment, his able conduct as resident recommended him to a still higher office; and in 1761 he became a member of the council at Calcutta. At the council board he distinguished himself by the elegant composition of the minutes which he delivered, according to the custom of the service, on the subjects for deliberation; and he was held in high consideration by his colleagues for the soundness of his judgment.

In 1765, Mr. Hastings returned to England in H. M's. Ship the *Medway*, with his friend Mr. Vansittart, at that time Governor of Bengal. The fortune with which he had retired, after a service of upwards of fourteen years, was originally moderate; and an unexpected diminution made his income very small. He had brought with him only a part of his acquisitions; and by some casualty the remittance of the remainder failed. To repair this deficiency, he exerted his interest for a re-appointment in India; and it is a curious fact, that the same individual who afterwards became all powerful with the Company, could not at that time obtain permission to return. Mr. Hastings now lived in England, cultivating literature and enjoying the society of men of genius; among whom were the great Lord Mansfield and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Three letters to him from the Doctor have been preserved by Mr. Boswell; who speaking of the condescension with which

Mr. Hastings communicated to him these letters delineates the following short sketch of his character: "Warren Hastings, whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it a moment, when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice, after that of millions whom he governed."

In 1766, the year after his return, he had, in concert with Dr. Johnson, formed a plan for instituting a professorship of the Persian language at Oxford with a view of undertaking the office; but a surprising revolution was preparing in his fortunes. In the winter of the same year. Mr. Hastings being examined at the bar of the House of Commons, during an inquiry into the affairs of the Company, attracted general notice by his prompt, masterly, and intelligent expositions. In consequence of this unsought display, his talents were soon after called into action. The Court of Directors were desirous to have a person of eminent ability to succeed to the presidency of ~~Members~~; he was accordingly appointed second in council at that settlement, with a provision that he was to succeed Mr. Dupre, ~~then~~ then Governor. Mr. Hastings was recommended to this appointment by some of the very men whose opinions in politics the tenor of his own uniformly opposed; a circumstance which we can

only attribute to a disinterested choice on one side, and singular merit on the other. He continued at that station until February 1772, when his great talents were required in Bengal, owing to mismanagement abroad, and the want of adaptation to circumstances not anticipated in orders sent from home, the affairs of Calcutta and its dependencies had become much embarrassed, and reduced to an alarming state of distress. The Court of Directors thought no person so capable of retrieving them as Mr. Hastings. They accordingly sent a dispatch to Madras, enjoining him to proceed immediately to Bengal, to assume the administration at a fixed day to which they had limited the stay of the present Governor, Mr. Cartier.

Mr. Hastings succeeded to this arduous charge in April 1772. He found the funds of that settlement loaded with a debt of near three millions sterling, bearing a heavy rate of interest; but in less than two years he had discharged that debt, and had replenished the treasury with a sum in specie as to the same amount.

Unfortunately for the interests of the British nation in India, the gentlemen who were joined with Mr. Hastings in the council, Mr. Barwell excepted, entertained habitual prejudices against his system of administration, with a corresponding attachment to their own views. Hence they commenced an opposition to his plans; and three votes gave them the ascendancy, until the death of Col. Monson, which happened in Nov. 1776, when the equal division of members gave the Governor General the casting vote. General Clavering died in August 1777. Mr. Wheeler had been appoint-

ed early in that year to succeed Col. Monson ; he commonly voted with Mr. Francis. The force of talent in the council being no longer almost neutralized by pertinacious obstruction, the first effect was, that the fruits of the measures originating with Mr. Hastings were more decisive and apparent ; the second was, that the leading men of England reposed in his talents a higher confidence ; and the legislature, who had twice before continued his appointment for short, and as it were probationary terms, extended it to ten years.

In 1774 Parliament changed the whole system of governing British India and managing the political affairs of the Company at home ; and appointed a supreme council at Calcutta, which was to control all the other settlements. Under the new arrangement, the legislature appointed Mr. Hastings the first Governor General for a term of five years. In 1778 he was continued for one year more ; in 1779 again for one year more ; in 1781 for ten years ; and in 1784 his appointment was confirmed by the act of Parliament that formed the present government of India.

The purport of his commission given by the court was, that the Directors of the East India Company appointed Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General of all their possessions in India, and invested him with the whole government, civil and military.

From 1765, when England acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, it had been the custom to entrust the departments of the revenue and of judicial proceeding to native ministers. Under that system of collection, the annual revenues were a million below the sum they were calculated to produce. Mr.

Hastings effected a great revolution. He changed the whole face of the interior administration in the departments of finance and judicature. The year preceding the total annual resources of the Bengal government were £3,132,319. He left it in 1785, when its annual resources were £5,213,815 in English money, being an increase of more than £2,000,000 a year. These revenues had in 1765 increased to £5,000,000, from the successful operation of a system adopted by Mr. Hastings; a system for which he was impeached.

The following branches of resource were created by Mr. Hastings, and have produced, in the year 1785:—

Post-office collection.....	£14,340	0s.
Oude subsidy.....	535,665	10
Benares revenue.....	453,341	10
Salt.....	964,971	12
Opium.....	182,263	10

£2,130,582 2

His arrangements for Oude and its dependencies furnished matter for sixteen articles of impeachment; and the result of those arrangements is simply this: that between 1773 and 1794 the Company had actually received £16,000,000 sterling into its treasury more than it would have done if Mr. Hastings had not concluded that engagement with Surajah Dowlah, in 1773, which is known by the name of the treaty of Benares.

Such have been the consequences of Mr. Hastings having disobeyed orders; for he was charged with disobedience of

orders, in marching a brigade beyond the bounds of Surajah Dowlah's dominions.

From 1765, when Lord Clive acquired the Dewannee to 1772, when Mr. Hastings came to the government, nearly a third of our military force was either in Oude or Corah, and paid by the extraction of specie from Bengal. But from 1772, a third of our army was paid by the sovereign of Oude, independent of the very large sums in specie brought from Oude into Bengal, in consequence of the Rohilla war, and the sale of Corah and Allahabad.

Had no British troops been in Oude when Surajah Dowlah died in 1775, Benares never would have been acquired : on the contrary, the probability is, that Oude and Benares would have been overrun by the Rohillas, and other northern invaders, had not their power been destroyed by the war of the preceding year; in a word, if the ultimate connection which has subsisted between Bengal and Oude for twenty-two years had been found, as it was alledged to be, disgraceful to the nation and disadvantageous to the Company, Mr. Hastings would have been, as he ought to be, responsible of the whole.

He had scarcely time to breathe from these operations when war broke out with France ; and the English territories in India were at once pressed by a great armament from Europe, and by the immense field forces of two of the native powers. In the midst of these difficulties, some reflections of the Governor General upon the wayward conduct of Mr. Francis produced a duel, in which the latter was wounded. Mr. Francis retired from the council soon after this incident,

and quitted India for England on the 9th December 1780.

When the subject of paying the expences of the Defence to the Impachment was before the Court of Proprietors, it was observed by Mr. Lushington, that India was not acquired nor preserved, nor can it in times of danger be maintained by a cold discharge of official duty. Hence it is that there are so many men who are fit for the second place at a council board who are not fit for the first. It is the same in the military service. Some individuals rise to distinction by bravely executing orders, and when they at length reach the high responsibility of acting without orders, disappoint the world and their country. They would have been thought great men had they never been commanders-in-chief. Meanwhile their previous actions were honorable to themselves and useful to their country; for in the military service all the tactics of opposition are directed upon the enemy. Constant opposition, in the bosom of administration, eludes the test of capacity for service, it may arise from contentment and not from ambition; minnows, by swimming against the stream, remain where they are.

In the midst of so many adverse circumstances, the Company's affairs improved in aspect. Their relations with neutral states were strengthened, and the friendship of the vacillating Nizam regained. The native princes who had sought their expulsion were reduced, or won to their alliance; and, among the conquest made by the Company's forces, British India had some restitutions to offer to France towards the adjustment of peace for England. Mr. Hastings had the merit of maintaining the splendour of the national character in all its

military operations, and of having insured the blessings of peace, security, and abundance, to the subjects of the Bengal dominion. By the wisdom of his councils and the vigour of his measures, he sustained the old, and acquired new resources for conducting a varied and multiplied war with France, with Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattas, and was emphatically called by the minister of that day the Saviour of India.

Never was there a man eminent in public life whose conduct has been more rigidly enquired into, or more freely commented upon; and no character has come out more bright from a fierce crucible. If he was powerfully attacked, he was ably defended, and the warmth of his friends and the candour of the public, at least kept pace with the malice of his detractors, and the exertions of the more honorable assailants who were misled by gross misrepresentations. In 1776, the weight of government was exerted against him, and the influence of his Majesty's ministers personally exercised at the India House to effect his recall; but a majority of the Proprietors defeated the attempt, and fixed him in Bengal. On May 28, 1782, the House of Commons voted, on the motion of Mr. Dundas (then Lord Advocate, afterwards Secretary of State, ultimately Lord Melville), that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to displace Mr. Hastings from his government. This happened during the Rockingham administration; but it is an important point to remark, that Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas, and the other gentlemen who spoke in support of the resolution for Mr. Hastings's removal, acknowledged that his abilities were of the most splendid kind,

and his integrity unquestionable, The resolution was in these terms :

“ That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. President of the Council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means, for the removal of the said Governor General and President from their respective offices, to recal them to Great Britain.”

In consequence of this vote, the Court of Directors again took into consideration the state of their affairs, and on the 22d of October determined, by a majority of thirteen to ten, that Mr. Hastings should be recalled. The propriety of this measure was most ably and fully discussed by the Proprietors on the 24th and 31st of the same month, when it was determined by ballot that Mr. Hastings should remain in his station: the numbers for his continuance being four hundred and twenty-eight against seventy-five. In consequence of this resolution, the next day the vote of recal was rescinded by the Court of Directors. In the month of June 1785, Mr. Hastings returned from India to England, having been at the head of the Government of Bengal more than thirteen years.

On the 20th of June 1785, the day Mr. Hastings arrived in England, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move an impeachment of him in the ensuing session. On the 4th of April 1786, he exhibited twenty articles, to which he afterwards added two more ; but it was not until 1787, April 10,

that the impeachment was voted ; it was then carried without a division. The twenty-two articles occupy an octavo volume of four hundred and sixty closely printed pages. The following are their substance ; they charge the last Governor General :

1. With great injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations, in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the Rohilla country.

2. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India Company, for treating the King Shah Allum, Emperor of Indostan, or otherwise the Great Mogul, with the greatest cruelty, in bereaving him of considerable territory, and withholding forcibly the tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees, which the Company engaged to pay as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding, in his name, the Dewanee of the rich and valuable provinces of Bengal, and Behar, and Orissa.

3. With various instances of extortion, and other deeds of mal-administration against the Rajah of Benares. The article consisted of three different parts, in each of which Mr. Hastings was charged with the most wanton oppressions and cruelties. Mr. Burke annexed to this article papers concerning the rights of the Rajah, his expulsion, and the sundry revolutions which have been effected by the British influence under the control of the late Governor General, in that zemindary.

4. With the numerous and insupportable hardship to which the royal family of Oude had been reduced in con-

sequence of their connection with the Supreme Council.

5. With having, by no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Furruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin.

6. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oude, and rendering that country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert.

7. With a wanton, an unjust, and pernicious exercise of his powers, and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India, in overturning the ancient establishments of the country, and extending an undue influence, by conniving at extravagant contracts and appointing inordinate salaries.

8. With receiving money against the orders of the Company, the act of Parliament, and his own sacred engagements; and applying that money to purposes totally improper and unauthorised.

9. With having resigned by proxy, for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying the deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted.

10. Accuses him of treachery to Muzoffar Jung, who had been placed under his guardianship.

11. Charges him with enormous extravagance and bribery in various contracts, with a view to enrich his dependants and favorites.

These are the principal; the other eleven are chiefly connected with, and dependent upon the foregoing.

A Committee was appointed to manage the prosecution, in the name of the Commons:—

Edmund Burke, Esq.; Right Hon. C. J. Fox; R. B. Sheridan, Esq.; Right Hon. T. Pelham; Right Hon. W. Windham; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.; Charles Grey, Esq. Wm. Adam, Esq.; Sir John Anstruther; M. A. Taylor, Esq.; Lord Viscount Maitland; Dudley Long, Esq.; General J. Burgoyne; Hon'ble George A. North; Hon. Andrew St. John; Hon. A. Fitzherbert; Colonel Fitzpatrick; John Courtenay, Esq.; A. Rogers, Esq.; and Sir James Erskine.

Mr. Francis was originally included in the list of managers, but this uncandid and tortuous proposition was rejected by a great majority of the House. Twice afterwards it was renewed, and negatived.

On the 13th of February 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster Hall; and seven years afterwards, on the 23d of April 1795, judgment was pronounced by the Lords on the charges, most of them severally, and Mr. Hastings was acquitted of them all. Twenty-nine was the greatest number of Peers who voted on this occasion. On the first article of the impeachment, twenty-three voted not guilty, and six guilty. In two of the articles the vote of not guilty was unanimous. The Lord Chancellor pronounced the judgment:—

“Warren Hastings, Esq. I am to acquaint you that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment, &c. exhibited against you by the House of Commons, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and all things contained therein, and you are discharged, paying your fees.”

The unprecedented duration of the trial was an enormous evil, both as it bore upon the public and Mr. Hastings; but it

was disproportionately grievous to the latter. The expences to the public, of this trial, amounted to more than £100,000, and Mr. Hastings's law expences to £71,000. In consideration of the weight of this fine for acquittal, and of his services, the East India Company contributed £42,000 towards the payment of his law expences, and voted him an annual pension of £4,000 for twenty-eight years and a half; they afterwards lent him £50,000 without interest. When £16,000 of this loan had been repaid, they relinquished the remainder. In May 1814, the term of his annuity having expired, they voted a renewal of it for his life. His bust is placed in the library of the India House.

Were a *life* of Hastings and a *life* of Burke to devolve on the same pen,—what a dilemma! Eulogy is sometimes the surviving fragrance of mature virtue in the subject of it; sometimes the late and unset fruit of a determination in the biographer to draw an exalted character. It were no feeble test of the truth of eulogy to take the antagonist's character in the very article of adverse bearing, at the point of conflict, in the attitude of grappling to depress and ruin, and try whether it demands our praise as the disinterested act of a public man, or whether, taking lower ground, the part filled by the accuser challenges vindication, admits apology, or is open to rebuke. The trial of Warren Hastings may now be read as the trial of the mover of the impeachment. With a full conviction that the balance sheet of the account between Mr. Burke and the country,—stating his talents, his services, and the sum of his merits on one side, and the payments on the part of the public in rewards and plaudits on the other, leaves

a deficit in the last column which the public can only make up in posthumous praise. We cannot think his conduct as one of the managers of the impeachment would be placed on the credit side of the ledger, by twenty-three impartial men, skilled in the arithmetic of merit, out of twenty-nine. Admit that the fugitive inundations of private detractors afforded colourable ground for instituting the public enquiry; what can justify the speeches? Perhaps it were too much to expect that forensic addresses shall, before they are delivered, be devised by truth till their tone be subdued to the scale of evidence: but still the ardent invoker of judicial indignation ought to incur some reponsibility; and if his confident strain of invective cannot be supported, the evidence which his unremiss vigilance, after tedious preparations to criminate, at length adduces, as much as he gains in reputation for eloquence by exciting a transient tumult in the passions of his contemporaries, so much ought he to lose by deductions from his equity, or candour, or judgment, in the estimate of prosperity. How pregnant the censure! how barren the proof!

The country is at this day reaping advantages from the talents and services of Mr. Hastings. His mind, active and comprehensive, rose with elastic force under every pressure; his abilities shone forth with the greatest splendour in times of difficulty. In 1778, at a crisis of danger and alarm, he pursued those measures in the midst of impending calamities which were successful in averting them. In a distant hemisphere, and among nations governed by other religions, customs, and laws, he maintained the British dominion in India, by means exactly of the same kind with those that acquired them, and

by which alone it was possible to maintain them. It has been observed, on the subject of legislation, that what is metaphysically true may be in that very proportion be politically false; and that in all cases respect should be had to times and circumstances. We do not acquiesce in the premises of the aphorism; it is perfectly gratuitous to say, that any thing is metaphysically true which, when compared with principle gained by experience in polity as practical truths, produces the idea of repugnance, and not agreement. In circumstances for which neither the history of Europe affords parallels, nor her public law corresponding provisions, Mr. Hastings weathered the storm in India by attending to the variation of the compass. Without violating the usages and laws of Asia, he combined and directed a large military force for the preservation of our Asiatic settlements.

The confederacy of Europe with revolted America; the irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic; the sudden departure of Sir Thos. Rumbold from Madras; the supineness and imbecility of his immediate successors; the defeat of the British army under Sir Hector Munro; the excision of Col. Bailie's detachment;—all these circumstances of improvidence, disgrace, and disaster, induced a temporary panic, which had unnerved the hearts and unstrung the arms of the dependant authorities and subordinate officers. The first in mind, as in station, to whom every eye was now turned, did not disappoint the sanguine expectations of his countrymen. From the centre of Calcutta, an energy was diffused throughout the whole of the British settlements in Hindustan. The Governor General displayed a dignity and elevation of

mind that transported him above personal apprehensions, and absorbed every private care in the intense application of public spirit to support the interests of the Company and the nation. Notwithstanding the obstruction he had to encounter, he conducted the war to a prosperous and glorious result. Such is Mr Hastings; whom neither innocence, nor virtue, nor talents, nor complete and brilliant success, was able to save from a prosecution not more surprising in its origin than anomalous in its conduct; which, when we reflect on the spirit that dictated, perplexed, and protracted it, may be called, in the emphatic language of the sacred Scripture, “a fiery trial.” Never was integrity so completely triumphant over such a combination of learning, ability, and political power.

The public mind, by the obtrusion of never-ceasing assertion, aided by all the powers of oratory, had been stunned into an apprehension that the late Governor General might not be found so free, as the jealous lovers of the British character could wish, from all ground and all shadow of reproach. Year passed after year, and a degree of suspicion was followed by a greater degree of indifference to the matter at issue.

At last men began to wonder, that where accusation was so loud, proof should be so feeble: and public opinion, which had been the slowest to give credit to his accusers, formed the first presage of his acquittal.

Meanwhile the object of remorseless hostility manifested during the protracted trial an enduring patience, a dignified deportment, and an undisturbed temper.

The source of temporary affliction has augmented the

number of memorials by which the name of Hastings will be transmitted with honor to other countries and to future ages by incorporating his life and actions with the juridical as well as the political history of his country. The charges brought against the saviour of British India are not now to be considered as misfortunes, but as difficulties that proved his virtues, and elicited ennobling testimonies of his greatness; to us the words of Sir William Jones, “they rendered his character *not bright but more conspicuously bright.*”

Except a short recess from 1765 to 1767, Mr. Hastings was thirty-three years in the service of the East-India Company, eleven of which he was Governor-General of Bengal. One of his collateral measures has been annulled, the communication which was established between Europe and India by way of Suez. The trade from Bengal to the Red Sea promised to be highly advantageous, and could never have affected the Company's sales in England. A contrary opinion however prevailed and English vessels were no longer permitted to navigate to Suez. The communication was open long enough to convey the Company's orders for the attack of Pondicherry, an event of high importance.

Among other objects which distinguished the government of Mr. Hastings, was his deputing the ingenious Mr George Bogle to the court of the Grand Lama in Thibet, who received him with the utmost kindness and hospitality; and a great supply of curious information was elicited respecting the country of Thibet: an account of which was published in the “Philosophical Transactions” by the late John Stuart, Esq. F.R.S. member of the Supreme Council at Bengal.

Mr. Hastings was an admirer and an encourager of the fine arts; he had found leisure to cultivate some of the useful arts which depend on liberal science, and was esteemed as an engineer and an architect. He was gifted with no ordinary portion of poetical talent, as may be seen by the imitation of the sixteenth ode of the second book of Horace, written on board the Harrington, in his voyage to England in 1785, and addressed to John Shore, Esq. afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

Among his literary productions are. Narrative of the Insurrection at Benaras, 4to. 1782; Review of the State of Bengal during the last three months of his Residence, 8vo. 1786; Memoirs relative to the State of India, 8vo. 1786; Answer to the articles exhibited by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, 8vo. 1788; Speech in the High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall, 8vo. 1791; Essay on the Means of Guarding Dwelling-houses by their construction against Accidents by Fire, 4815. Anonymous. Published in the Pamphleteer, No. X, May 1815, vol. 5, p. 399.

On the occasion of describing, the foundation of the Asiatic Society, with the application of the members for the patronage of the Governor General and Council, and the offer of the honorary title of President to Mr. Hastings.—which he declined in favour of Sir William Jones the founder,—Lord Teignmouth gives the following sketch of his title to that distinction :

“ Mr. Hastings entered into the service of the East India Company, with all the advantages of a regular classical education, and with a mind strongly impressed with the

pleasure of literature. The common dialects of Bengal, after his arrival in that country, soon became familiar to him; and at a period when the use and importance of the Persian language were scarcely suspected, and when the want of that grammatical and philological assistance, which has facilitated the labours of succeeding students, rendered the attainment of it a task of peculiar difficulty, he acquired a proficiency in it. His success not only contributed to make known the advantages of the acquisition, but proved an inducement to others to follow his example, and the general knowledge of the Persian language, which has been since attained by the servants of the East India Company, has conspired to produce political effects of the greatest national importance, by promoting and accelerating the improvements which have taken place in the system of internal administration in Bengal.

If Mr. Hastings cannot claim the merit of having himself explored the mine of Sanscrit literature, he is eminently entitled to the praise of having invited and liberally encouraged the researches of others. But he has a claim to commendations of a higher nature; for a conduct no less favourable to the cause of literature than to the advancement of the British influence in India, by removing that reserve and distrust in the professors of the Braminical faith, which had taught them to view with suspicion all attempts to investigate their code, and to apprehend the infringement of its ordinances, in our political rule. The importance of this success will be readily acknowledged by those, whose observation qualifies them to form a due estimate of it; and to those who

have not had the advantages of local experience, the communication of my own may not be unsatisfactory.

The spirit of the Mohammedan religion is adverse to every appearance of idolatry, and the conquest of Hindustan by the Mussulmans was prosecuted with the zeal of a religious crusade. This rage of proselytrism was united with the ambition of dominion, and the subversion of the Hindu superstition was always considered a religious obligation, the discharge of which might indeed be suspended by political considerations, but could never be renounced; and, notwithstanding occasional marks of toleration in some of the emperors of Hindustan, or their viceroys, their Hindu subjects were ever beheld by them in the contemptuous light of infidels and idolaters. They were, of course, naturally disposed to apprehend the effects of a similar bigotry and intolerance in their European governors, so widely discriminated from themselves in manners, language, and religion. The Bramins, too (who had the feelings common to the bulk of the people,) deemed themselves precluded by laws, in their opinion of sacred and eternal obligation, from any developement of their secret doctrines to a race of people, who could only be ranked in the lowest of the four classes of mankind, and to whom, with little exception, their secrecy and reserve had hitherto proved impenetrable. To surmount those obstacles, to subdue the jealousy and prejudices of the Bramins, and to diminish the apprehensions of the people at large, required a conduct regulated by the most liberal and equitable principles, and the influence of personal intercourse and conciliation. The compilation of a code of laws by Pundits, convened by the

invitation of Mr. Hastings; the Persian version of it, made under their immediate inspection; and the translation of the *Bagvhat Geeta*, a work containing all the grand mysteries of the Braminical faith, are incontrovertible proofs of the success of his efforts to inspire confidence in minds where distrust was habitual; while a variety of useful publications, undertaken at his suggestion, demonstrate the beneficial effects of his patronage and encouragement of oriental literature."

He also established the *Madrissa* a college for educating Mussulman natives in the knowledge of the Hindoo law.

Mr. Hastings carried home from India a quantity of precious jewels which the revolution in this country threw into his hands; these were principally presented to Her late Majesty; and there is to be seen at this day in Buckingham House the throne of the Bengal Sovereign, almost covered with diamonds. These offerings inspired the belief that the Gov. General himself was possessed of inexhaustible wealth—a belief which subsequent events shewed to be unfounded.

When the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1816 was under discussion in the House of Commons, a desire to make his knowledge and experience in India affairs useful to the country, induced him to come forward as a voluntary witness. When he retired, the House spontaneously rose, as if by this mark of respect to atone for the injury which their predecessors had committed!

The following incidents, belonging to his private life are extracted from his Letter to Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart. Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors in 1795, in

answer to an inquiry into the amount of his fortune:

"I came to England in the year 1785, and lived in a hired ready furnished house, first in St. James's Place, and next in Wimpole Street, until the year 1790, when Mrs. Hastings purchased the house in Park Lane, as I have before mentioned.

I purchased a small estate in Old Windsor, called Beaumont Lodge, 1786, and resold it in 1789, for the exact sum that I had given and expended upon it.

In 1789, I purchased the principal part of the estate of Daylesford, and about two years since the remainder; it was an object that I had long wished to possess; it was the house in which I had passed much of my infancy; and I feel for it an affection of which an alien could not be susceptible, because I see in it attractions which that stage of life imprinted on my mind, and my memory still retains. It had been the property of my family during many centuries, and had not been more than seventy-five years out of their possession."

Mr. Hastings married a widow lady, with some family, but has left no children to succeed him. During the latter years of his life he was much attached to horticultural amusements. He died at his seat, Daylesford House, Worcestershire, on the 22d August 1818, in the 86th year of his age, beloved and venerated.

In private life, Mr. Hastings was one of the most amiable of human beings. He was the most tender and affectionate husband; he was the kindest master; he was the sincerest friend. He had a "tear for pity, and a hand open as day for melting charity;" his generosity was unbounded in de-

sire, and he did not always calculate on his means of indulging it. He had that true magnanimity which elevated him above all selfish considerations or personal resentments; to those who had been his most implacable enemies; he was ever-ready to be reconciled, and to forgive. In his domestic intercourse, he was the most endearing partner, and in his social hours, the most pleasing companion, instructive, affable, cheerful, and complacent; "his nature was full of the milk of human kindness;" without a tincture of gall in its composition. All who knew him loved him, and they who knew him most, loved him best.

To a biographer nothing can be more gratifying than to be able to illustrate general assertions regarding the subject of his Memoir, by proofs drawn from the purest and most unexceptionable sources, namely, the familiar correspondence and the domestic history of the person of whom he writes; and this also must be equally satisfactory to the reader.

We have given in one of our previous Numbers, already alluded to, some of the earliest Letters of Warren Hastings, to one of the most tried, the most intimate, and the most beloved of his numerous Friends; and we are encouraged by the general satisfaction with which we believe these to have been generally received, to follow up the tack, with others of a later period, selecting from among the mass of Letters put into our possession, only such as tend in any way to illustrate this history, his character, his mode of life, with such of his public opinions or private feelings, as may be occasionally elicited.

In resuming our extracts from the correspondence of this amiable man, we find, in the order of the dates which we have strictly followed, a piece of great humour presented to him by his friend, for examination and revisal and as the piece itself is curious, and the observations made on it by Warren Hastings are valuable, we cannot do better than give them both.

The object of the first is apparently to expose the abuses of the Orphan Institution at Dublin, in a strain of grave irony, which we think is admirably done, and is as follows:—

“ During the late Embassy to China, the Emperor shewed a strong desire to inform himself of many point relative to the laws and institutions of Europe, and of these kingdoms in particular, and for this purpose held frequent conferences with our Ambassador. In one of those familiar conversations which this desire give rise to, the Emperor lamented, with much apparent concern, the stigma which he understood had been passed upon his government by foreigners, in consequence of a practice to which it was driven by an excess of population to give its sanction, namely: that of parents exposing their supernumerary children to perish; at the same time observing that, although the government bore all the disgrace of it, yet it had been found very inadequate to the purpose, and the grand object for which it was allowed to wit: the reduction of the people within the ability of the country to support them, had been in a great measure defeated by the strength of those sentiments of natural affection, which induced parents to burthen themselves, with more children than they knew how to maintain, rather than

to consign them to destruction, an evil of so serious a nature, that unless some speedy and effectual remedy could be found, the greatest and most alarming mischiefs were to be apprehended.

He added, that in a conversation he once held with a Jesuit upon this subject, it has been said to him to adopt a plan, recommended in the beginning of the present century to the people of Ireland by one of the eminent of their own Bonzes, when that nation were under circumstances of similar distress, and forming the principle of converting the disease into a remedy by consigning the supernumerary children to increase the food of the people at large; that he had maturely weighed the proposal, but from the extreme sensibility of his subjects, had been under the necessity of relinquishing a plan, which to him had appeared completely unobjectionable, and calculated to have effectually removed an evil, which was annually on the increase: something however must be done, and he wished to know whether, upon the failure of the plan alluded to any other, and what, had been substituted in Ireland.

The Ambassador, thus called upon, observed that it was with the highest satisfaction he could point out to his Imperial Majesty a mode which, to the eternal honor of his native country, had been there adopted, and found, upon the experience of many years, to answer most completely the end proposed, and at the same time to place the projectors and patrons of it among the most distinguished champions of humanity. This was the establishment of an hospital for the reception and disposal of foundling children, which,

under wise regulations, and by means of the superintendency of the first people in the kingdom, (whose attention was constantly directed to the enforcement of the duties of the various officers of every denomination who were attached to it with liberal salaries) had brought about, at the trifling expence of £16,000 per annum, an annual reduction of 1900 beings, who must otherwise have remained a burthen upon the state. That if his Imperial Majesty would calculate the vast diminution this must have produced in a certain given number of years, and effected by an establishment upon so contracted a scale as that of the capital of Ireland, he would at once perceive the immense benefit to be derived from a similar establishment in each of the cities and considerable towns of his extensive empire.

The Emperor asked what became of them? That replied his Excellency, was more than he knew; possibly the diminution had been produced by the mode to which his Imperial Majesty had himself alluded in the early part of his conversation, but of this there had appeared no proof or vestige upon record, which he conceived to be an argument highly in favor of the plan: since if this was really the way in which the foundlings disappeared, they were still conducive to two great and essential purposes of the institution, by administering a wholesome nutriment to a part of the people, and effecting a further saving for the benefit of the rest of so much as those beings, if allowed to fulfil the natural term of life would themselves have consumed; at the same time its concealment precluded the objection to it, arising from the prejudices of the barbarous and unenlightened mul-

itude, who in that country, as well as in China, could tranquilly bear the butchery of thousands of these children, and felt horror at the very idea of converting them to food ; to such inconsistencies was the human heart subject in all climates and under all the modifications of society, unless where the discoveries of philosophy had corrected the crude propensities of uncultivated nature. The Emperor who from the mildness and humanity of his disposition, has justly acquired the glorious title of father of his people, expressed great pleasure at the suggestion, and requested of the Ambassador to draw up the plan for him with all its regulations ; but he not conceiving himself at that time sufficiently informed of all the minutiae of it, gave his Majesty a promise to transmit to him upon his return to Europe the complete plan and history of the institution from its commencement.

To this delay the Emperor was unwillingly obliged to submit : and the Ambassador, on his return, having made application to the Irish administration to enable him to perform his promise, they with a degree of liberality which does them infinite honor, cheerfully agreed to communicate to the extensive Empire of China the blessings which had been the result of their laborious consultations for the benefit of their own people during a course of many years, and a committee was last year appointed, in consequence, to draw up the particulars in proper form, which was accordingly done, and a report on the subject presented to the House of Commons ; but the great and consequential business in which the members were at that period engaged, (it being the height of the season of gaiety and fashion in the metro

polis) calling off their attention from so comparatively trivial a matter, it was of necessity postponed to the ensuing sessions, in the course of which it is hoped the members of the senate may be able to afford time from their more important occupations to put the finishing hand to so benevolent a plan, and to counteract the evil and traitorous designs, which there are strong grounds to impute to the Right Honorable Sir John Blaquiere and his committee; who under the flimsy pretext of humanity, but evidently actuated by motives of envy and malevolence towards the administration, betraying the trusts reposed in them, formed the report upon the principles which, if admitted, would subvert the plan altogether, and not only add to the distresses to their own country the additional burthen of providing food for the infants proposed to be saved, but also deprive Ireland of the credit, and the Empire of China of the advantages of the institution as hitherto conducted. 16582 . .

Fortunately, however, their views have been timely detected; and every man who possesses a grain of philanthropy or patriotism may wish, for the sake of example and for the honor of public justice, to see them subjected to that punishment, which such glaring dereliction of their public duty would have ensured to them in better times than the present.

The following extract of evidence taken on oath, though incomplete, will serve to point out the great utility of the institution, and which, with further particulars of a similar nature, may be found in the report before alluded to:

Extract—Between the 25th of March and 13th of

April 1797, (being nineteen days) 116 children were admitted, of which 12 died in that period. On an average of the six last years, there have been admitted annually 2100, of which upwards of 1900 have died each year. In the same period of six years ending the 24th of June last, 5216 children were sent into the infant infirmary, of these 3 only were ever brought out alive.

In the same period, no medicine of any kind was administered in the nursery or infant infirmary, except from a bottle called the *composing* bottle, which was administered by the nurses indiscriminately to all alike. The physicians never visited that side where those infant children lay. The surgeon only twice, and at most three times a week, prescribing only in surgical cases, and the apothecary sometimes not once a year, though residing in the hospital, all enjoying salaries for a constant attendance.

In six years, ending the 24th of June 1796, there were admitted 12,786 children, of these died in the infant side of the house, in the same period, ... 7807

Ditto ditto, in the country, ... 1997

Unaccounted for, in the same period, 2847

—12,621

Balance ... 135

The following is the hasty Letter from Mr. Hastings, addressed to his Friend immediately after reading it:--

Daylesford House, December 25, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I had the pleasure to receive your Letter from Dublin

this morning, and the mortification to read the Shipton post-mark on its cover, apprizing me how near the line of your route must have brought you to Daylesford, at a period when the minced pies, and the season peculiarly devoted to hospitality, would have made your company there, which is always welcome most welcome. I have executed the task which you assigned me, by hazarding a few trivial corrections of your manuscript, and by the presumptuous addition of one long paragraph, which you may adopt or commit to the flames, as you think best. The leading thought is well and delicately kept up throughout the whole production with a neatness and simplicity of style, and a gravity which would have done credit to Swift himself. Yet I am not quite sure that your subject is so well suited to irony, as that of his *modest proposal*; since *his* aim was only to expose the unnatural treatment of Ireland, by her sister-kingdom, by a large proportion of it. Yours relates to a case of inhumanity, that cannot admit of exaggeration, and is of itself so horrid, as scarcely to bear to be treated with ridicule. I can scarce bring myself to believe, though on your authority, that such unheard of atrocities should have been committed in a civilized country (Is Ireland civilized?) with impunity, whether the perpetrators of them have been legally convicted, or not. It may however be proper to assail a practice so infamous, by every species of argument; and a better than yours, in this species of it, cannot be better devised, or better executed.

I am pressed for time, and do not think I can add more that would repay the loss of a day in the publication, if it

is to be published. It is not my fault that you did not find the book at Oxford. Debrett tho' urged to send it, and tho' he promised it by the 23rd, has not yet sent it. Our Christmas compliments attend you and yours. Our best wishes ever.

Your affectionate,

W. H.

The first portion of the next Letter refers to some anecdote of Mr. Hastings being addressed by a stranger, on the subject most probably of his public conduct, and of his reply to him.

The latter portion of the same Epistle is particularly interesting, from its containing the thoughts of the writer on female education.

Daylesford House, February 15, 1798.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You can have no conception of the astonishment into which I was thrown by the contents of your letter, which I had got quite through, without an idea of the subject to which it alluded. At last I recollected, that I did receive a letter of the kind which you mention, but from whom I know not; and what I had answered it to a man I knew not without adverting to any thing but the contents and the name, which I read Lamaster. The letter, though, considered it improper from an absolute stranger, was well written, and affected me; and therefore I answered it, which it what I scarce ever do in such cases. If he has received my answer, he had no right to it, for it is directed to D. La-

master, not to him. However, I have given him that right by telling him how to enquire for it, if he has not got it. I am vexed at the blunder, and have written to him an apology for it. Yet it is very odd, that I have read over the letter again this morning, and it still apperas as if written by a man who was utterly a stranger to me. I am sorry, however, that he did write it, because I cannot gratify the expectation which prompted it, as I do not think I could bring myself to apply to the Archbishop of York for a living even for my nephew who is in orders, and wants one. I find on a re-perusal of your letter, that he received mine. Pray ask him again for a sight of it. You will see by the name to which it is directed, and its contents, that your conclusion respecting their adviser was without foundation. Besides, had I supposed the advice to have come from you, rest assured, my dear Sir John, that I should not have imputed blame to you for it in a letter to him, had I thought it blameable.

I am greatly delighted with your plan of superintending the education of your daughters. I had it once or twice in my mind to recommend it to you; but I was not sure on the propriety of it, and therefore deferred rather than relinquished the design. I do not think myself qualified to give you a list of books suitable to the instruction of young ladies of their age, and I doubt whether such a collection, though it has been often called for, though it is so essentially necessary, and even promised (if I recollect right) either in the Guardian, or some other of Addison's periodical writings, has ever yet been formed. I will, however, mention such

as I at present recollect, and think more immediately necessary.

For History—Rollin; Vertot's *Revolutions*; Dr. Gillies's *History of Greece*; Fergusson's *History of the Roman Republic*; Russell's ancient and modern History, (an excellent work, tho' written in the finical form of letters, and abridged); Hume's *History of England*, and Volney's *History of France*.

For Poetry—Milton; Pope; Prior (to be read with your own selection); Parnell; Gay's *Fables*; Goldsmith; Gray; and (how came I to forget him?) above all, Shakespeare.

For Ethics—Addison's *Spectators*, *Guardians*, and *Tatlers*, with the exclusion of all the papers written in them by others; *Rambler*; *Adventurer*; Aunt Kitty's *Theology*. Pray do not forget that and Paley's *Philosophy*.

For style and elegance of Composition—McInloth's *Works*; Mrs. Montague's *Observations on Voltaire's Censures of Shakespeare*; and Madame Sevigne's *Letters*. If others occur to me I will communicate them.

I would recommend that when they read it, should be aloud, and to you, and that you should read at least as much to them as they to you, both to give them a good tone and accustom them to attention. I do not think a looking glass a bad assistant in this part of discipline, as a pleasing, but unaffected countenance, adds infinitely to a graceful elocution; and young people fall naturally into the habit of contracting their brows, and setting their features to a form of constraint, when they read;—but enough of this. Your

own better judgment will add to these crude surmises, and correct them, for they need it.

Your affectionate,

WARREN HASTINGS.

The following Letter contains some remarks on the corps raised for the defence of Great Britain, at the time when its population were called forth, to arm themselves against a threatened invasion :

Daylesford House, July 5, 1789.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I envy you the means of employing yourself so creditably at this time. I am unhappily precluded from offering my services in the like manner by my mongrel situation, being a man of Worcestershire at the distance of many miles from my own country, and unknown besides to any gentleman in it. I conclude that in the penal articles of your code, you will make the members of your corps the court of judicature for the trial of all offenders in it, and the principle of honor that of all its punishments ; that no man is admitted into the corps, but with the approbation of the rest ; and that the dismissal of any be also their act. Yet I doubt whether the tie of honor alone will be sufficient to cement your association : and if a more legal obligation is added I should be apprehensive of its effect, if it originated in a proposal, from yourself. Forgive me for saying so much on a subject of which I know so little. If your men are skilful in their exercise, their pride will attach them to the corps, and augment the disgrace of those who abandon it.

Did I tell you that I sent a plan for securing the grain and other articles of provision lying near the coasts, from an invading enemy, to Mr. Dundas? I received a courteous acknowledgement of it; but though no enemy has appeared, and probably will not, still I wish that, or some other, might be permanently adopted. Mine indeed was not for permanent use, but might be made so.

I greatly disapprove of the act for sending the militia corps out of the kingdom; because one of the conditions of its institution was in terms, "that neither the whole, nor any part of it shall *on any account* be carried, or ordered to go out of Great Britain." All exceptions whatever are here precluded; and the attempt to elude it, by confining the act to voluntary offers, is only the substitution of trick for avowed authority, and makes the violation more unworthy of Government; for a body of men cannot join in a voluntary offer, though they may individually.

If you persevere in your plan of domestic discipline, so far as to devote an hour and a half, or even one hour of every day to it, and never omit it, even that time so bestowed by you will contribute more to your daughter's instruction, than whole mornings spent by them in lessons with alien preceptors. In my catalogue of books, which at your instance I ventured to recommend, I omitted one I heartily desire to add to it, it is Gisborne on the Duties of Women. That is not the literal title, but is sufficient to point out the book: though you probably have it.

I began my letter on a large sheet, hoping to comprize all that I had to say within it; but I am grown unutterably

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indolent, and as I do not often write, trust you will forgive this enlargement of it.

Adieu, my dear friend,

Your's ever most affectionately,

WARREN HASTINGS.

The next has some passages in continuation of the former, and a few observations on other public topics of great interest at that particular period.

Daylesford House, August 10, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am much pleased with your military regulations, and particularly with your medal, the motto of which, whatever it be, I hope will be in English.

I have no copy of the plan which I sent to Mr. Dundas; but as that was for a temporary occasion only, I have thought of trying to form a better, and to adapt it to permanent use. It may not be immediately wanted; but I am convinced that some provision of the kind will be necessary at some period not very distant.

I am happy to find that the troubles in Ireland have been so speedily and effectually quelled; and not a little pleased that Lord C—— has been the instrument of this unexpected return of peace. I am persuaded that the same conciliatory means, employed by the same agent, would have proved as successful in preventing, as it has been in defeating the rebellion. It has however produced one useful discovery, that the French are less formidable than we thought them, by not having been able to support the division which they excited. If they had, nothing short of a

miracle could have prevented the loss of that kingdom.
 I still persevere in believing that Egypt is Buonaparte's object, and no other, except India as a remote consequence.

The following is descriptive of some of his private habits, and his own opinion of them. The latter part of the same Letter contains some excellent and acute remarks on some of the political events of the times :

Daylesford House, Oct. 2, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

It is strange that some bad influence in the atmosphere seems to prevail over all the kingdom, and to produce exactly the same complaints. My sister at Ewell, and Mrs. F. Leigh at Cheltenham, have been both affected by it in the same manner, the latter dangerously. It is also been general in London. Mrs. Hastings and myself preserve ourselves from this, and all other causes that can disturb the human frame, by a constant exposure to our pure and salubrious air, to which these miasmata, as the physicians call them have not yet extended, and by early hours of repose and rising. I am sorry to add for myself, that I derive so much benefit from trifles and the most shameful waste of time, that my attachment to both is become a fixed habit of my life. In the prosecution of these indulgences, however, I have made some useful improvements in my farm, and one of ornament in my garden, which has surpassed even my own expectations.

We are in some alarm for our two friends at Weymouth, as the two flank companies of the battalion regiment have

offered their services to go to Ireland; and I fear lest the rest of the corps may be piqued to do the same. Charles in that case will go. I would not: for though a soldier in all ordinary cases is, and ought to go where he is ordered, yet where he has a right of choice, he ought to be satisfied that the cause for which he is to fight is a good one. I hope he will think so. If the French land again, and become formidable, it will be a good cause. I do not expect it; but rather believe, that they were repeating their attempts, merely as feints, to draw off all our strength from Great Britain, and make their serious efforts there. While I write, this event becomes less probable, by the destruction of a large part of their marine by the astonishing success of Sir Horatio Nelson, on whom (to borrow an Asiatic phrase) be the blessing of God. This great event may defeat Buonaparte's enterprize; and it may, by precluding him from all hopes of safety but in victory, render him victorious. If he has engaged in so vast an undertaking without providing for every emergency, and particularly the want of provisions, he is not the man that he has been represented. With such a force as he carried with him, it was impossible for him to fail, but by gross misconduct. Look at the map, and you will see the absurdity of the recent reports of his discomfiture. The event itself may be true, but certainly not, in the way that it is said to have happened. It was impossible for him to retreat to Damietta across two great branches of the Nile, and an inundated country; or to be poisoned by the wells, where the river itself offered such an abundant supply of the purest water in the world. Neither can the whole country, with its

deserts to assist it, furnish 20,000 Arabs, or a fourth part of that number. I yet adhere to my belief that the Turkish Ministry are privy and consenting to his attempt.

Adieu, my dear Friend, your's ever,

WARREN HASTINGS.

The following is a beautiful example of great feeling, expressed with more force in its simplicity than any studied elegance of diction could have produced; such a man must have been a warm and faithful friend:

Daylesford House, January 1, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

You have made two hearts, which are sincerely devoted to you and your Lady, most happy, as far as our sentiment detached from the other effects of human contingencies will allow, by the very good account which your last letter contains of your child. Your own constant attention to him during this winter will, I trust, preserve him from any other effects which may be apprehended from its severity: but at the close of it, it may be worth your while to form some plan for his treatment during the milder season of the year, and yet more for that of the succeeding winter. Upon this subject no man can be so competent to give you the best advice as Dr. Denman, to whose judgment, I believe, you consider yourself indebted for his surviving his first entrance into life.

Your sentiments respecting me, though very different from what I feel of myself and the affection which you ex-

press for me and my dear Mrs. Hastings, though I wanted no recent assurance of it, I read with much pleasure. Let me too assure you, thou alike needless, of our warm attachment to you and our beloved friend, Lady D——, and our interest in the happiness of your children. I have pleasure in conforming to the fashion of the day, in repeating those wishes and prayers which are ever in both our hearts. that many, many, happy years* may attend both you and them.

February 1.

In looking over my papers for your letter of the 27th of December, I found with it the foregoing beginning of an answer to it, which I myself cannot account for having left unfinished. It will prove that you may be in my remembrance, even when appearances seem to indicate the contrary, and as I warmly felt the wishes and sentiments which it expresses, I send it as I found it. I recollect that I was going to recur to the first subject of it by suggesting the expediency of your consulting Dr. Denman or Mr. Berkley, concerning your first intention of carrying your son to Lisbon. It might prove of benefit also to Lady D——. You will have ample time both for enquiry and preparation: but I do not think the autumn the proper season for making the voyage. I would at least have the start of the equinox.

I hope your visit to Dublin will not deprive us of the pleasure which you denied us, since you may easily bring Dublin into the line of your route on your return, and we shall then be in high beauty.

I have read a description of the Parmean electricity, and

an enumeration of cures performed by it, and sincerely hope it may prove effectual with Lady——. After having seen Partington's experiment on a dead frog, and heard his relation of the head of a dead horse which, though remarkable for his quiet temper while living, nearly bit off his groom's fingers on the co-operative application of two pieces of zinc and silver, I can credit at least the possibility of this new magnetism producing the effects ascribed to it.

Adieu, my dear Friend your's ever,

WARREN HASTINGS.

The young son of Mr. Hastings's friend appears to have had very delicate health in his infancy, and the following Letter was apparently a reply to a proposition of his being put under Mr. Hastings's care. It is delightful to witness the struggle to which it gave rise between duty and inclination in Mr. Hastings's mind, and the solicitude that he evinces to soothe his friend under a denial, which really displays more friendship than consent:

Daylesford House, March 17, 1799

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

While I feel with gratitude the proof which you and your dear Lady give of your confidence in the tender attention which Mrs. Hastings would pay to your beloved child, I am compelled, though with the most painful reluctance, to oppose to your proposal the extreme delicacy and instability of her health; which would render the responsibility of so precious a charge too great for her to support it. From what she has very recently suffered only by participating in

the affliction of Mrs. Imhoff for the loss of her sister, I am morally certain, that if your son, while under her protection, was to fall sick, the consequences would be as dangerous, if not more so, to her, than to him.

Do not, my dear Sir John, think me deficient in those sentiments of friendship which I have long professed for you and which my heart tells me are, and ever were most sincere, if I express any thing like an objection to your leaving your little child with us, except on one only condition, which I on my part will fulfil with as much pleasure as I would do any office either of kindness or self-gratification. Bring your dear boy with you: we both long to see him: and entrust him to my care, to conduct him either back to New-lands, or to any other place where you would wish to consign him. To me it would be an excursion of amusement, perhaps of health; and I can manage to make it answer other purposes in my return. Do not therefore vary your plan for any thing that I have said, but make the little fellow of your party: and I will thank you for your acceptance of that subsequent variation which I have proposed.

Mrs. Hastings charges me with her affectionate regards, with mine, both to yourself and Lady.

I fear you will hardly read this: I have written it with great difficulty and pain, my hand being in a crippled state. I shall direct this letter for the cross post; but it will go, as yours came, by the direct.

Your's affectionate,

W. H.

Mr. Hastings still retained a remembrance of his Persian reading, and in this sentence, at the close of a long Letter, makes the most happy use of it, in illustrating what he appears always to have admired highly, the warm and unsophisticated feelings of youth and nature.

Daglesford House, April 14, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

* * * *

I said, I should write a short letter; but I cannot help lengthening it by an anecdote of your son, that an united Irishman may read with an abatement of his ferocity, and even a loyalist profit by the distinction conveyed in it. Mrs. H. asked him, if he was not glad that he was going home. —He half answered yes; but recollecting himself, added: “Yes I am glad that I am going home, because I shall see my sisters; but I am sorry to leave you.”

This sentiment was evidently borrowed from the following lines which he learnt in his pre-existent state, and remembers in this. [*The Persian lines are omitted here.*]

Your affectionate,

W. H.

We could not select a better proof than the following, of the attachment of Mr. Hastings to his rural pursuits, nor of his attention to the theory of them as well as the practice.

Daglesford House, June 10, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Mr. Croke has sent me the inclosures which you were

as good as to bespeak for me; and I shall set the chaff-cutter to work before I close this letter. I have already tried it yesterday,—God forgive me!—I do not think that the simple examination of a thing which may be converted to the general benefit of all the society around me can be termed doing any manner of work in the sense of the commandment. But I am just come from working it with lucerne, and eat straw as a substratum, and have distributed the produce among my best horses. Sir Charles and my new-broke colt ate it greedily. Mrs. H's horse only rejects it, and my gray mare seems only not to dislike it. I suppose the crudeness of the plant is unpleasant to them from want of use. The instrument does not draw the lucerne alone, but works well with straw neatly laid at the bottom. If I am right in my recollection, Mr. Close gave his horses and cattle green and dry chaff mixed; and if his riding horse obtained his sleek coat by such provender, with (I conclude) a little addition of oats, there cannot be a better diet.

I have written to Mr. Cooke for a plough and it will be in time.

I have fitted up a stand for two oxen, which I am now fattening on my idea of the principles, (or rather of their application, for I cannot err in the principles,) of Mr. Close's stalls.

I find my bailiff heartily desirous to give my innovations a fair trial: but he, my groom, carter, and all are delighted with the chaff-cutter. I grieve that I want the bodily powers, which, if I possessed them, I am sure I would employ to the completion of my character as a farmer. I am

resolved however to get back the cost of my machines by the use of them.

Having paper to spare, and a frank to cover it, I will fill it with some observations on the practice of giving cattle out food.

From the frequent instances of oats growing out of horses dung, and the disorders to which elephants are liable from eating the leaves and succulent stems of plantain trees uncut, it is evident, that it is only the soluble part of vegetable substances on which the powers of digestion can act, the hard husk of the entire oat preserving the seed from undergoing any change in the passage, and the fibres of all grasses undergoing but little, especially the stems of lucerne and green — near the roots, the greatest portion of straw, and much even of hay. These of course often retain their original substance and are connected together, like ropes, through all the intestines. How far this may disturb what is called the peristaltic motion, or in what other way they may be affected by the prolongation of the same undissolved matter through vessels formed for different processes of digestion, I am not anatomist enough to conjecture. but I am confident of the cause, however it may produce its effect. In the instance of elephants, the effect is visible.

Hence it appears that in all cases, where cattle have fibrous food provided for them, of whatever kind, it ought to be prepared for the stomach by being first cut into small portions. I have read that hogs will thrive in a field of clover, but die, if it is given to them as it is cut from the field. This (if true) must be owing to the cause above assigned.

I wish you would suggest this to Mr. Close ; you need not show him what I have written.

Your's ever most truly,

W. H.

This short Letter expresses what were the feelings of gratitude which the just remunerations of the Court of Directors inspired him with ; and shows from his consequent determinations that ambition had no influence in the direction of his views, but that his highest aim was the possession of a competent provision in perfect retirement.

Daglesford House, July 12, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I lose not a moment to acquaint you with the fortunate issue of my application to the Court of Directors ; of which I have just received the first authentic information from the Chairman, Sir Stephen Lushington, in these words : “ I have the pleasure to tell you that the Report is confirmed.” A copy of the report to which he alludes, I had received on Wednesday last, from our friend Toone, to whom Mr. Inglis had given it for that purpose ; but I could not tell from his letter, whether it had then obtained the sanction of the Court or not. I will send you a copy of it, because you will receive more satisfaction from that than from any abridgement that I could give you of the substance of it. I am sure it will please you. Nothing could be handsomer than their acknowledgement of the justness of my request, as applied to “ the spirit and real intent ” of their original reso-

lution, nor more precise or explicit than the words of the recommendation.

You will observe mistake in the words of my petition, which imply that a balance would remain due to them at the close of the term. I do not know how I came to make it, but they have corrected it, and even added a little to what I asked for, in the difference between the interest computed on the half yearly payments, instead of reckoning it from the close of each year. I do not know that this will be much; but it shows that what they did, they did with a liberal mind.

I am now easy, and I will add to the bounty of the Directors, a determined resolution to reduce my course of yearly expenditure to the sum of my income. It will be a difficult work, but I will accomplish it; and I thank God, I have almost completed my family and my house establishments, which have been very heavy charges upon me. I have one building now nearly done, and a road which I will divide, between this and the next two years; and I have nothing else to cause me to exceed a fixed and well regulated establishment; to say nothing of my immense gains by my scientific process of husbandry.

Your ever affectionate,

W. H.

The abolition of the Slave Trade was a measure into which the philanthropic mind of Mr. Hastings entered warmly, notwithstanding his suspected love of tyranny, a vice the most remote from his composition. The closing remarks of his estimation of the character of Buonaparte, at the time of the Egyptian campaign are curious as well as the follow-

ing sentiments expressed in the next Letter in his congratulations on the success of the British arms.

Daylesford House, July 28, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

If you have not lost, and can easily lay your hands on the scheme which I gave you some years ago, for a gradual abolition of the Slave Trade in the West Indies, I shall be much obliged to you for it. I shall receive it in time, for the use which I wish to make of it, when you come to Daylesford, if I may indulge the hope of that pleasure this year.

Never, my dear friend, predict evil, since its tendency is to wish for its accomplishment. In spite of all my better sentiments, and my attempts to rejoice at Buonaparte's defeat, I cannot help being sorry for it, because I have been so confident of his success, unless we had set on foot an armament to counteract him. I gave him credit for steadiness, and consistency, for the talents of a Statesman and the virtues of a Legislator. It never entered into my suspicions that he would leave his imperfect establishment in Egypt, for the variety of conquests which, if obtained, could have afforded him no solid advantage. What a glorious opportunity would this diversion have yielded to us, had we thought it worth our while to have set on foot an expedition against him!

Your's ever,

W. H.

Daylesford House, September 4, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I heartily congratulate you on our late miraculous suc-

cesses. I am not fond of assigning human events to the interposition of Providence; but in all that has passed in the course of this year I see so little of resemblance or analogy to the ordinary course of the great movements which govern this world, that I should feel it ungrateful to ascribe them to any other source. If our former disasters had been purposely inflicted as warnings, and our triumphs bestowed to excite our gratitude and amendment, and furnish our more wicked enemies, they could not more effectually have completed that design.

Your's ever,

W. H.

London, April 1, 1800

MY DEARER JOHN,

We have been in town almost a complete fortnight, which we have passed in the most dissipated manner: that is to say, we have resigned ourselves wholly to our ancient friends and acquaintance, and console ourselves with the reflection that a life, which would be sin in others, is with us a moral duty. It is certainly a pleasing one, and the more so as Mrs. Hastings has been so far from suffering by it in her health, that I think she is better than I have known her for some years, and every body says so.

I know nothing of public affairs more than you do. I begin to feel impatient for the Union, though I profess myself too ill informed to judge of its probable effects, but as it is to take place, I wish it to take place soon and grant

that it may be productive of peace and order in that country, and strengthen the bonds of both!

The Prince of Wales has shewn me fresh marks of his kindness, and made me his guest the day before yesterday.

Adieu, my dear Friend your's ever,

W. H.

This is the only Letter of Mrs. Hastings that we have met with in the series, and to judge by it, of her feelings towards her husband and his friends, she must have been as amiable and as warm-hearted as himself.

Bath, March 9, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have had the satisfaction to receive your kind letter of the 1st, on the 5th, with one enclosed from your dear Pent son. I perused them both with great delight; and with mingled sensations; both were strong proofs of that warm attachment and friendship which you have invariably shown to my beloved husband and myself. How gratifying to these marks of friendship to minds that can feel as they ought those rare qualities!

I was truly rejoiced to hear that my dear god-son was perfectly well; may the Almighty ever keep him so, is my most ardent wish.—I have the comfort to assure you that our dear Mr. Hastings is, I praise God; quite well—we came to this place yesterday, not sick; but to visit a sick and dear friend, Mrs. Sands.—We shall be off again on Friday evening for our dear Daylesford.

We feel, if possible every day more and more attached to that sweet spot, and it becomes really painful to us both to

leave it even for a few days—what creatures of habit we are—I only fear that we shall become unsociable: I mean to the *grand monde*—our friends will ever meet with a hearty welcome and a warm reception under our roof, from the Master and Mistress.

I have kept Charles's letter, being fearful of its falling into other hands than our own; but if you think that there is no danger of its being lost, I will return it to you—though it came safe by the post, yet that is no security for its going safe back.

I cannot quit the subject of this letter without remarking the manliness of sentiment, the good sense, and easy style, which appears both in this, and in the letters which Mr. Hastings has received from him.—Indeed he is an amiable young man, and you have cause to be proud of him, and happy to have such a son. ●

Adieu, my dear Sir John—my beloved Mr. Hastings charges me with his affectionate regards and good wishes, and I pray you to believe me at all times,

Your sincere Friend,
M. H.

The two following Letters of Mr. Hastings relate also to domestic matters, and they present the same picture of retired virtue, and regard for all that could endear social life, as his previous letters whatever subject they are professedly written, so constantly betray

Dayleford House, March 22, 1803.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Little folks as we are, our actions and intentions are

sometimes known beyond the circle of our friends and acquaintance; possibly therefore you may have heard that we had it in contemplation to make a stout excursion to the continent: but a little journey to Bath, presented so many inconveniences to Mrs Hastings's delicate frame, and his Majesty's late message suggested so many more in so much more extensive an undertaking, that we had given up all thoughts of it long before your letter was written, and are immoveably fixed to Daylesford for some months at least to come. London we never think of, nor have I at present a conception of any thing that can draw us from home, in any future period of our lives.

I am, my dearest Friend, your's ever most truly,

W. H.

Daylesford House, July 23, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Mrs. Hastings, with her mother, arrived at Daylesford last Tuesday night, at 11 o'clock, after a journey of seventeen days, and having borne the heat of the hottest day that we have had of this hot weather, and an east wind blowing their own dust after them the whole way. Yet they suffered little in their healths, and are now (I thank God!) both well; Mrs. Chapusettin is seventy-seven years of age, and does not look younger: but her strength and activity are astonishing and her cheerfulness beyond all example, though it is put to a severe trial. not a soul but her daughter being able to exchange a word with her.

We expect Colonel and Mrs. Imhoff next week. When the agitation of these novel events has subsided into a de-

piece of calm, you may expect to see us for a moment at Cheltenham.

Yours ever,

W. H.

The last Letter with which we shall close for the present, the correspondence of this great and amiable man, was written to his friend, who had now removed to India, (an interval of five years appearing between the dates) and is written on small thin note paper, for transmission by an overland dispatch,

It furnishes too, a convenient period at which to rest, as it gives an abstract of his fortune and his affairs up to the period from which he dates. There still remain, however, in our possession some Letters of great interest, extending to the close of the year 1713, and subsequent to the Marquis of Hastings' rule, which we shall take an early opportunity of adding to complete this valuable series.

Dryden's Hall, September 13, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Through my own laziness, and the uncertainty of the Company's dispatches, I have missed the last packets, and am too early by two months (as I am told) for the next; but shall take my chance of getting a conveyance for this Letter by an overland dispatch, concluding that the very late advices by land, and their importance, will speedily require one. You will have the news of the decision of the ballot to greet you on your arrival, and complete your joy on that event.

I am sorry that I can give you no news, but of myself;

but you feel too warm an interest on that subject, not to make my letter welcome. On the 25th of July, the Court of Directors passed a resolution to cancel the remainder of my debts due to them, and to allow me my full annuity (£4000) to the expiration of the Company's Charter, from the 10th of June 1803, thus granting me one moiety in advance. I have not yet received official notice of it, nor the first payment, as they wait for the opinion of their Counsel, to know whether it will be legally necessary to refer their resolution to a Court of Proprietors for its confirmation. This has been to me a matter of great humiliation; but I have met with so many personal kindnesses in the progress of it, and other indications of the conversion of many old hostilities and prejudices into good-will towards me, that I rejoice, without any mixture of regret, at all the past; of the future I still retain some cause of anxiety.

My good fortune ceased not here. On the 14th of last month, the Master of the Rolls gave judgment on my suit, in Chancery, dismissing Rajah Nubkishon's bill. His decisions are so clear, and his character as a Judge stands so high, that his decree is not likely to be appealed, or (if appealed) to be reversed.

The first affair detained me more than seven months in London. Mrs. H. sickened, and preceded me the latter end of May, and by taking up the occupation of the farm, has regained her health and confirmed it. My partial friends compliment me on mine; but I feel that I have made in this short interval an advance of years towards my dissolution. I can now meet it, come when it will, with a tranquil and al-

most glad mind, by contrasting the state in which I shall leave my dear Mrs. Hastings, with what it would have been, had I died a twelvemonth past. We often talk of you and your dear children, and shall impatiently look for the first intelligence of your arrival, and happy meeting with your Charles. May it prove so, in every circumstance of it!

I am sorry to hear that your Government is involved in new hostilities, because I infer from them the concerted revival of the past. It will, however, prevent the abdication of Lord Wellesley, if he seriously intended it, and so far only I shall be almost glad of it, though I had rather a few years of peace had elapsed. Our expectation of an invasion is from time to time awakened; but I am more than ever convinced, that it will not soon take place, if ever, from the growing difficulties which would attend it.

Mrs. Hasting affectionately remembers you, and joins with me in love to your dear son and daughters. Tell Charles I shall answer his affectionate letter by the next regular packet.

Adieu, my Friend—Heaven bless you and yours.

W. H.

P. S.—I forgot to mention that I have formally relinquished my claim to the Nabob's donation, as much to my own satisfaction as that of the Directors, who would have been embarrassed to decide upon the reference of it made to them.

After the Memoir and the Correspondence with which we have endeavoured to illustrate the life and character of this extraordinary but injured man, we subjoin a transcript

of the sentiments that very generally prevail in India regarding him. It appeared in the India Gazette and is from the pen of an eloquent writer and a man of feeling as well as judgment; and as it is, in our estimation, but an accurate picture of the sentiments which the name of Warren Hastings universally inspires in this country, though few perhaps could so well express them, we could not injustice refrain from repeating them here, more particularly as we could never do so at a more appropriate moment than the present. The writer expresses himself, as follow :

“It is now many years since I arrived in Bengal, and during that period I have not been an inattentive observer of Indian character.—I have, like others of my countrymen, visited the different scenes of the operation of the councils or commands of Warren Hastings, which formed the principal articles of the charges against him. I have conversed with English and Indian agents and subjects of his power, and I have eagerly and perseveringly sought the memory or tradition of local impressions—I have availed myself of opportunities to converse with the remnant of those of our countrymen, whose energies had been displayed in effecting the objects, his wisdom or his turpitude enjoined: and also with the veterans of our native army, who traversed India at his command, or were the agents of his will under his administration of Bengal. I encouraged their narratives, because knowledge was my pursuit; I listened with conviction, because their earthly affections and prejudices were fast settling into that truth which attends departing life;—and wherever I have turned, and in whatever language has been the ex-

pression, I have never heard the name of Warren Hastings pronounced but with awe, with reverence, and affection. Among the natives of this country I have heard verified, what is once thought the boastful observation of a boastful man, "that the people of India believed there was some attendant Genius that always guided my designs to their just successful ends." By his contemporary countrymen I have heard it accepted as significant of every energy of fortitude and wisdom.

Are we to suppose that India would embalm the memory of its spoiler? that his own countrymen would consecrate a profligate ambition whose power had long been prostrate in the dust? Is it our fate at this moment to trace misery and desolation as perpetuating the existence of his administration—to sit on some fallen column of the Capitol meditating on the ruins of empire? Surely we live in the days of enchantment, when the language of men is no longer the agent of the will, if we are still to doubt the voice of India in favor of Warren Hastings; and we ourselves are the victims of illusion which gives to the baseless fabric of a vision the fair exterior of harmonious strength which now surrounds us! and well may we doubt if it be in the order of natural things, when we trace the chaos of convulsive ruin from which the beauteous edifice arose, with domestic faction and external wars opposing the mighty labourer in his work. But if truth has at length dissipated the shade which enveloped all Indian transactions, and exhibits a monument of which the history of the world affords no parallel—an emblem of moral ascendancy—let us tread lightly on the ashes of the mighty architect, for the key stone of the arch is

the memory of tradition of Warren Hastings His spirit still walks abroad, is still mighty in the land. It obeyed the invocation of a Wellesley; it has cleared the paths of him who now bears his mantle and his name

Warren Hastings, during his whole political life, had to contend with the most inveterate of enemies.—Among his own immediate masters—in the legislature of his country,—in a just and generous public,—he found this persecuting spirit :—the arch enemy of Hastings was Ignorance. India was scarcely known to our country until his government. Before that period, our only national establishment was our military renown ; for our territorial possessions, on either coast, were but fortifications against France, or citadels against Indian states. On the Ganges, Clive, the mighty magician, had borne the standard of England from the walls of Fort William, and, in the regions that he trod it, waved on the temple of victory which arose at his command. But the gorgeous fabric was evanescent : it was only existent in the presence or the recollection of the dread enchanter. It was Warren Hastings that gave it a foundation and its strength ; and when the illusion of enchantment ceased, and India would have retraced “ a Mahratta Ditch,” she found a mighty rampart of Britain’s strength, with Hastings wielding the energies of his country, and wisdom and valor the magic of his arms.

Until this period India was that “ unknown country which poets speak of.” She had no place in British geography, until Hastings had secured kingdoms as provinces of the British empire ; and England was unprepared for the

mighty acquisition. Her American possessions had been the growth of ages, and had at this time reared the standard of revolt and independance. Insulted and himiliated by her European foes, the ambition of England was chastised by calamity. Party spirit ran high throughout the country, and mutual menaces and reproaches had engendered a ferocity of character demanding some victim for its rage. In a country glorious above all others in that freedom which gives the human mind its uncontrolled expansion, a participation in the power to which is confided the guardianship of national independance and of social happiness, is ever the ambition of superior intellect; while the jealous observation of its ministration is the sacred legacy of our fathers, or rather the proud tenure of English liberty. Party spirit is the necessary consequence of such a government; and though it be adduced in testimony of human infirmity, it is not the less a proof of British freedom. In all questions of national interest, therefore there ever must, and will exist these two relations in the state.

At the period of American independance, when weakness would still reclaim what reason and strength combined to resist, and the moment was arrived, when the seperation of the colonial empire from the parent state was the condition of its birth, party spirit intemperately marked the feelings of our country, and the loss of our American empire was asserted, according to each man's creed, as the agency of ministerial imbecility or of opposition incitement. While such was the general state and disposition of our country, a planet arose in the East, reflecting its radiance on the dark he-

misphäre of England: men of both parties watched the illumination, which exposed the gloomy horizon of their own action; and unable to discover its direction by their own system, they pronounced it the extravagance of a meteor's splendour. It was thus the misfortune of Hastings, that while the wisdom of his measures and their splendid results reproached the disastrous fortunes of England, he presented in himself, and the agents of his glory; the anomalous character of a third relation in the state. His actions were neither offensive nor defensive arms in St. Stephen's Chapel, and the cannon which thundered on the continent of India had no reverberation in rejoicings in England; for the wisdom and the victories of Warren Hastings were exclusively his own.

The trial of Warren Hastings was a national act in its true as well as legal sense. Ignorance of India was as general as it was profound; and the disposition to believe his guilt was a natural feeling in a people, jealous of his power, to commit the reputation of his country when acting for interests in which, it was the popular opinion, there was no national participation. It requires little knowledge of human life, to trace our vigilant scrutiny into the conduct of those who benefit by a profession from which we believe ourselves unjustly excluded, and the history of our country evinces, that candour has seldom stood near the judgement seat, when the conduct of Indian agents has been the subject of national inquiry.

In the public voice of England, thus darkly pronouncing on the administration of Warren Hastings, there was

no common language between him and his accusers. He quoted the laws of Mahomed, and they knew no statutes but those of a British Parliament. He asserted immemorial Pagan customs, and they rehearsed the obligations of Christian morality. He proclaimed the despotism of the East, and they blessed the limits of constitutional freedom. Was this a tribunal to pronounce on the actions of Hastings? Judge him by English feelings! when have they a sympathy in the East? Judge him by English laws! how could they follow his untracked career? The laws of England are like all human laws; they are not of intuitive wisdom; they are the wisdom of experience, they judge of what man may do by what man has already done, they impose restraints on human passions by the knowledge of human actions. How could they apply to the administration of Hastings? Had we ever citizen of our country placed before on such a perilous eminence? Is there a chapter in our penal code that defines the guilt of saving an empire? On the trial of Warren Hastings, Monarchs of the East should have been his jurors, and the history of the spirit, the temper, the passions of India should have been placed by the Statute book of England.

I am not the eulogist of Hastings — nor do I attempt to trace perfection; but in judging him by the standard of his fellow man, I place him in the circle of those illustrious characters, whom the collective wisdom of ages has presented to the admiration of the world. Warren Hastings is to be judged by the complexion of the times in which he acted, and then justly will be understood the mighty energies of that firm intrepid spirit, which unmoved by domestic faction, and

undismayed by foreign hostility, calmly surveyed the abyss on which he stood, and when unable to oppose the raging elements, rose in the whirlwind to direct the storm ;—or when indignantly rejecting the intreaties of a chief, in whose states he was a fugitive, with the solitary protection of the obscurity of night—threatening vengeance on his crimes, and subversion of his power, although his own personal guard had been destroyed, and himself dependant for subsistence on the attachment of an Indian—the agent of a foreign state.

In the external policy of Warren Hastings, he was necessarily the creature of circumstances ; for in the distracted scene before him, not to take a part had been self-destruction.

From the death of Aurengzebe, the empire of the Moguls became the divided property of the aspiring chiefs of the continent of India, and, in the conflicts which ensued, the English factories were commonly indebted to their own valour for protection from plunder and oppression. England was a nascent power from the moment she drew her sword ; and when she declared herself a state, progressive influence was the principle of her existence, and paramount authority her only safety. The legislative enactments at home against schemes of conquest and ambition in India, were asserted with complacency in England, and obtained the innocent admiration of Europe ; but when ignorance demanded their practical application, the self-denying ordinance was justly received in India, as that insane temerity, whose strength, in national expression, was too formidable to be enchained, and which wisdom therefore was contented to elude ; for, the British power in India was like a Prince of the House of Timur, whose

only security for light, liberty, and life, was in the imperial crown. Sheathing the sword, the metaphorical expression of affluence, of commerce, and tranquillity, has never been permitted to India from the death of Aurengzebe, until the present moment, when the British flag, flying on the rock of Asseergurh, telegraphed the decree of the English Ruler, commanding that the Indian world should be at peace.

If the foreign policy of Hastings excite our admiration of his wisdom and his fortitude, no mind, imbued with the spirit of philosophy and truth, but will reverence the enlarged maxims of his domestic administration. Engraven on the wall of the building at Benares, the holy city of the Hindoos, is the name of Warren Hastings, the Repairer of the Temple—In one of the principal streets of the metropolis of British India, the lofty walls, and terraces, the gardens, proclaim the Musselman College, erected and endowed by Warren Hastings. Proceed still further, and History points to the ditch within whose bounds Warren Hastings imprisoned the Laws of England. There surely cannot be a plainer truth than that human laws are only woe in their application to the character of life. Let not our country arrogate the attributes of omnipotence. Let her not believe that with the assertion of truth, she bestows the faculty to receive it,—the education of our youth, the customs of our fathers, are eternal chains on the mass of mankind; among a people, opinion is stronger than truth; and truth, the spirit and essence of English law, would itself be a curse, not a blessing, on the people of India, if conferred with the exereescences and the barbarisms which still disfigure the beauteous fabric. In

the atrocious attempt to let loose the laws of England on the natives of Hindoostan, Hastings stood forth the redeemer of a people, and the saviour of British India. His wisdom watched the disturbed, the rising elements; his personal influence averted the storm ready to burst on our devoted countrymen; and the greatest, noblest act of his illustrious life, was when he drew a circle with his sword around Calcutta, and said to the Laws of England, Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.

“I gave you Empire, I gave you all,” exclaimed his proud, indignant spirit, “and you have rewarded me with a life of impeachment, confiscation, and disgrace.”

• “The Athenians, so remarkable for their caprice, who never knew the value of their great men till after their death, soon became sensible of their folly, as well as criminality, of putting to death the man who had been the chief ornament of their city, and of the age. To give a proof of the sincerity of their regret, the Athenians for awhile interrupted public business; decreed a general mourning, recalled his exiled friends; and erected a statue to his memory in one of the most frequented parts of the city.”—*Cal. Jour.* June 13, 1819.

CONGRATULATORY LETTERS,.

ADDRESSED TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

We have been favoured with a copy of the following Letters, and have much satisfaction in presenting them to the Public.

The news of the acquittal of Mr. Hastings arrived in

Calcutta, by the Lord Thurlow, Indiaman, in the month of September 1795, and was received with universal pleasure.

A meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta was convened on the 19th Sept. and the following Congratulatory Address was unanimously agreed to, and signed by 326 of the principal British inhabitants in Calcutta.

SIR,—The inhabitants of this settlement, on your departure for Europe, having, in the strongest terms, expressed their sense both of your public administration and private conduct, during the long period in which you presided in India, we feel it no less incumbent on us now to offer to you our warmest congratulations on your acquittal of all the charges that were preferred against you in England.

We cannot but admire, Sir, the patience, fortitude, and resignation, with which you have borne a trial unexampled in its length, and a scrutiny into character, motives, and actions, the most strict and minute that ever was instituted. But upheld by conscious innocence, you have given an example of your reliance on the justice of your cause, which we doubt not, will carry conviction to the world and posterity, equal to the verdict of the illustrious tribunal before which you have appeared.

An acquittal under such circumstances, we must consider as honourable in the highest degree to yourself, as well as demonstrative of the impartial justice of our country. It is also peculiarly gratifying to us, as it confirms, and, if it were possible, it would strengthen, those sentiments which we never ceased to entertain of you.

Permit us to add, Sir, our cordial wishes, that your

remaining years may be many, and accompanied by a felicity that may compensate for the loss of those benefits and comforts of which you have been so long deprived.

The following congratulatory letters were also transmitted by the several divisions of the Bengal army, and presented to Mr. Hastings by the undersigned officers.

To Warren Hastings, Esq.

SIR,—We have been honoured by the selection of our brotherofficers in India, to be the medium of offering to you their congratulations on the honourable issue of the most extensive and rigorous examination ever instituted into the conduct of one man; and we feel particularly happy, in having this opportunity afforded us, of adding our own congratulations to this anticipation of the judgment of posterity, from those who had the nearest means of observing your measures, and of estimating their wisdom by their effects.

We have the honour to be, With the greatest esteem
and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servts.

(Signed.) { RICHARD SCOTT, JAMES BURNETT,
 JOHN ASHWORTH, JOHN SALMOND.

London, March 30th., 1796.

To Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor General of Bengal.

SIR,—Relieved from a long and painful anxiety, respecting the event of your unmerited prosecution and trial, the officers and staff at this station indulge the warmest sentiments

of their hearts, in congratulating you on your honourable acquittal.

Having been ever fully impressed with the highest sense of your merit, they cannot but rejoice that your character after the severest investigation, has been so amply and so honourably justified.

All Europe must now join with them in acknowledging the wisdom and justice of those measures, which, by contributing the minds of the native powers, ensured success to those exertions you so happily employed, to the preservation of the British empire in the East, against the united efforts of the most powerful enemies.

Accept, Sir, this heartfelt congratulation, as a small tribute to your merit, and a sincere testimony of the regard and esteem with which they have the honour to subscribe themselves,

Your most faithful and devoted humble Servants,

(Signed) G. JOHNSON, *Lieut. Col.* and 51 officers and staff, of the garrison of Chunar Ghur.

Chunar Ghur, Oct. 5, 1795.

To Warren Hastings, Esq.

Sir,—The officers and staff of that part of the Bengal army at present stationed at Futty Ghur, would deem themselves deficient in gratitude for the steady support afforded of their claims, and the warm regard invariably manifested to the honour and prosperity of the army in general, during your administration of the British affairs in India, should they not embrace the earliest opportunity of presenting to you, their sincere congratulations upon the honourable

termination of the long and rigorous scrutiny, which has been instituted into your measures and conduct, during a government of thirteen years, and under the constant pressure of multiplied difficulties and dangers.

While they testify their inexpressible satisfaction at the result of an inquiry, which will transmit your name to posterity with deserved and unfading lustre, they cannot but feel a very particular self-gratulation, on finding their own sentiments of your wisdom, zeal, and important public services, confirmed, by the almost unanimous verdict of the most respectable tribunal upon earth and the general voice of the nation.

May you, Sir, long live in the enjoyment of your well-earned fame, and in the perfect possession and farther public exertion of those eminent talents which have acquired such extensive and permanent advantage to your country.

We have the honour to be,

With the greatest esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servants,

(Signed) WM. POFHAM, Col. And 68 officers and staff

Futty Ghur, Oct. 3, 1795.

To Warren Hastings. Esq. late Governor General in
Bengal.

Sir.—We the officers of the division of the Bengal army stationed at Cawnpore, impelled by a grateful remembrance of the many obligations we owe to your late administration, and our ardent admiration of your private character, press

forward to offer you our sincere congratulations on your late honourable acquittal.

During a trial, which, for severity of scrutiny, and intolerable procrastination, is without example in the annals of the world, we have beheld you, Sir, patient and magnanimous, deporting yourself in a manner becoming the saviour of British India. Our solicitude was great, but we had no fear of the issue, though we feelingly lamented the precious years that have been lost to the public, which might otherwise have been employed in the service of the state, at a period as interesting and momentous, as your trial has been afflicting and unprecedented.

May the remainder of your life, Sir, be long and happy; and we hope, that this grateful tribute from a body who have been witnesses of the brilliant acts of your dignified and meritorious administration, will descend, with the name of Hastings, to posterity, as a token of the veneration and esteem in which we have ever held your character, and as a proof of the respect with which we are, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servants,

(Signed JOHN FORBES, Col. and 106 officers and staff.

The following address from the officers of the Bengal army, stationed at the presidency of Fort William, and at Barrackpore, was brought over by Major Rattray, of the Bengal artillery, and was presented to Mr. Hastings by that gentleman, Col. Duncan, and Capt. Ashworth.

To Warren Hastings. Esq.

Sir,—The officers of the Bengal army bearing in their

remembrance, the wisdom, moderation, and justice of your administration in India, feel a very heartfelt satisfaction in congratulating you on your late honourable acquittal, by the Peers of Great Britain, from charges brought against you by the House of Commons, and supported by men of the first abilities in the nation.

The energy and severity with which you have been for so many years prosecuted, the magnanimity and fortitude you have shewn during your trial, and in declining to solicit support, even when all the power and abilities of your native country seemed combined against you, place you in a point of view the most envied, the most honourable; for your enemies have raised a monument to your fame, on which the justice of your country hath recorded the integrity of your mind, and the propriety and necessity of your public conduct. May the gratitude of the community you have so long, so ably, and so faithfully served, be as conspicuous as your merits and disinterestedness have been publicly evinced. May your Sovereign, by conferring honours upon you, prove the value he has for such a subject, and by doing so, increase the approbation and attachment of a free and generous people.

With us, and with the natives of this country, your name must ever be revered, and with Clive's, be handed down with honour, respect, and admiration, to the latest posterity.—We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) CHARLES MORGAN, Col. and 175 officers and staff.

To Warren Hastings, Esq. late Gov. Gen. of Bengal.

Sir,—We the officers and staff of the military station of Dinapore, and its dependencies, impressed with heartfelt gratitude for former favours, embrace the earliest opportunity to congratulate you upon the very honourable termination of the most vexatious, tedious, and unmerited prosecution recorded in the annals of history.

Long may you live, Sir, an ornament to that nation which will, at length, unblinded by prejudice, be fully convinced of the ample support and benefit it received from your administration in India; and will, no doubt, do justice to that exertion, ability, and patriotism, which, surmounting every difficulty and obstruction, secured these possessions unimpaired to the mother country, although assaulted by the combined powers of Europe and the East.—We are, Sir, with the utmost esteem and gratitude, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) H. Buisco, Col. and 103 officers and staff.

To Warren Hastings, Esq.

Sir,—The gentlemen of Fort Malborough beg leave to congratulate you on an event which they have long expected from the justice of their country, and which they proudly record by unanimous commemoration.

They have remarked, Sir, with admiration, the spirited and manly struggle which you so long maintained in support of your personal integrity, and the dignity of a government, the energies of which, are to this moment felt by India, to the remotest extremes of her vast empire. With the sin-

ecrest pleasure they at length contemplate the suffrages of a nation united in the vindication of your honour, and a distinguished place assigned in the annals of the world, to that virtue which hath passed, unhurt, the ordeal of so many years.

To such high acknowledgement of your merits, permit them to add their limited testimony, that your memory will be dear to India; whilst in the happiness which your wise government diffused around it, in the advancement of the arts you patronized, and the progress of the sciences you cherished mankind shall continue to trace the enlightened politician, the comprehensive genius, and the polite scholar.

It remains for them to express their sincerest wishes, that every happiness and enjoyment may await the evening of your honourable life, in the bosom of your country; which, after severe approval of your worth, hath at length been amply though slowly just.—They have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servants,

(Signed) R. Broff, H. Douglas, P. Braham, B.

Hartley, R. S. Graham, F. E. Beaghan, T. Brown, G. Barclay, J. Macdonald, A. Monteath, R. Best, W. M. Grant, D. M'Pane, H. Dunning, C. Holloway, C. Day, R. Bill, T. Sturgeon, T. Cudlipp, J. Powell, J. Campbell, J. Grigson, A. Brennan, W. Parker, D. Gillis, J. N. Sealy, F. W. Peirse, E. Bagley, J. Mully, J. B. Rosindell, C. Hutchinson, J. Turing, C. Campbell, J. Bagley, T. Waters, J. Braham.

Fort Malbro', Oct. 20, 1795.

The first of the preceding congratulatory letters, was transmitted by the government of Bengal, to the Court of Directors, and sent to Mr. Hastings by their order, with the following letter from the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman, to which his answer is annexed.

To Warren Hastings, Esq.

Sir.—We have the commands of the Court of Directors, to transmit to you the address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on your late honourable acquittal by the House of Lords: we have great pleasure in obeying these commands, which convey so honourable a testimony of the esteem and affection of so very respectable a body of men, who had such opportunities of appreciating your character.

We have the honour to be, with much esteem, Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servants.

(Signed) D. SCOTT, HUGH INGLIS.

East India House, May 4, 1796.

To David Scott and Hugh Inglis, Esquires.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, in obedience to the commands of the Court of Directors, with that which it inclosed, and which was addressed to me by the British Inhabitants of Calcutta; and I request the favour of you to present to that Honourable Court, my most grateful thanks for this additional instance of their goodness. To have allowed it to receive its destined passage through the channel of their official proceedings, was, of itself, an indication of their approval of its

contents; but they chose to stamp it with the highest consequence, perhaps that they could give to it, when they entrusted its transmission to the charge of their Chairman and Deputy; for which I ought to be, and do feel myself, impressed with the deepest sense of obligation. I beg leave at the same time, to express my particular thanks to you gentlemen, for the very handsome and dignified terms in which you have been pleased to execute this commission.

My sufferings have been great; but they have been converted into blessings by the consequences which they have drawn down upon me. My acquittal, though by the highest and most respectable tribunal upon earth, I consider but as an exemption from infamy. It was followed by the declaration of the collective body of my late masters, that I merited positive approbation. The Court of Directors added the most honourable and impressive testimony to that judgment. My fellow-countrymen, both civil and military, of that establishment, whose interests were, during a course of many years, committed to my charge have repeated the same sentiments; and the former have indirectly appealed to that Honourable Court for the confirmation which it had already given of it.

I have yet a further debt of gratitude to acknowledge to the Hon. Court of Directors, for the boon of fifty thousand pounds, which they have generously granted to me, in consequence of my late application, which certainly was not made with such an expectation. As a relief from distress, I received it with a thankful heart: As an implied effect of the same generous acceptance of my services, I feel a grati-

fication from it of a different kind, and scarcely inferior to the former. I request that you will have the goodness to convey my thanks for this last act of their bounty, which I should have before acknowledged, had not a consideration of delicacy restrained me, while any part of the sum destined for my use, by their orders, remained unpaid. I am this instant informed that the last delivery of 25 thousand pounds, was made this mofning, making up with the first, the complete sum of fifty thousand pounds.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Park Lane, May 6, 1796.

The following answers were written by Mr. Hastings to the Congratulatory Letters.

To the British Inhabitants of Calcutta.

Gentlemen,—I have now the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, congratulating me on my acquittal of all the charges preferred against me in England.

I return you my most sincere thanks for this instance of your attention to me, on an occasion so interesting to my credit and peace of mind; and for the confirmation which you have joined to it of your former approbation of my conduct, during the period in which I held the chief administration in Bengal.

The mode which you have chosen to convey to me the testimony of your good-will, claims also my farther thanks. Though independant and complete in itself, yet by commu-

nicating it through the channel of the Court of Directors you have given it the effect of an appeal to their justice. It was transmitted to me by their commands, in a letter signed by their Chairman and Deputy Chairman, expressive, in the most honourable terms, of their accordance with the sentiments which it contained.

To a man, whom a strange fatality involved, through the course of a long official life, in an unremitting struggle for the means of discharging with effect the duties of his station, and guarding his reputation from dishonour, declarations of applause and affection from those who stood by position nearest to the seat, or influence, of that authority in which he so long participated, and whose operations he, in a great measure, directed, are of more worth than any that wealth and honours, united, could yield. Such, I can truly affirm, they are in my estimation of them.

" You, Gentlemen, have many claims of old to my regard. There was a time in which even the authority of my public office derived a considerable support from the influence of your good opinions of the manner in which it had been exercised. The knowledge of your sentiments, publicly and authentically expressed on the day of my departure from Calcutta, contributed largely to support my credit with my countrymen at home, when, but for this, and similar aids, it must have sunk under the pressure of accusations heaped upon me without number, and yet unrevoked, in the name of the most revered body upon earth. These are personal benefits which I must ever remember with a grateful heart: nor is the impression made upon it by the prompt and ardent zeal which

you have ever manifested to co-operate with the government itself, in seasons of great exigency; less deeply marked, though blended with an esteem arising from a more disinterested consideration.

When I parted, in the year 1785, from that community to which I had attached myself by an intercourse of many years, and by various relations, my heart sorrowed for the separation, but consoled itself with the hope, which a conscious reflection of a long, a well-intended, and a successful service, entitled me to indulge, that I might still devote what remained of the active portion of my life to the advancement of your welfare, with that of the state on which it depended. I have been disappointed, and have painfully, though patiently, borne the disappointment. Yet, has it not been wholly unprofitable. The voluminous evidence produced in the course of my long trial, has incidentally brought to light many of the virtues of my countrymen and fellow-servants in India, which would otherwise have remained sunk in obscurity: it has, in a great measure, removed the prejudices which had been excited against them, and shewn them deserving of the love and respect of their brethren at home, for the firm regard which they have shewn to their common interests; for the candour and simplicity of their manners, and the gentleness and moderation with which they have generally and almost individually, demeaned themselves towards the native inhabitants of the provinces dependent on the British dominion, over whom the ascendant of the national character is scarcely less prevalent than the power with which it is, in many instances, officially associated. Those virtues,

while they tend to promote the duration of that dominion, by binding it on willing minds, reflect, at the same time, a credit on the British name, and give to their possessors a double title to the affection of every man who bears it.

In the many different occupations which I have filled in India, from my early youth, upwards, I have had more opportunities of knowing the general character of my countrymen resident in it, but more particularly in the provinces of Bengal, than almost any other man; and I dare to pronounce, as I would if called upon before the judgment seat of Heaven, that in the sentiment and practice of the two best affections which constitute the bond of society, namely, public spirit, and generosity, they are not surpassed, if equalled, by any people on earth. I might appeal to a very recent instance of both, if it were necessary to display to you the exhibition of your own deeds; and God forbid that my countrymen, if ever this writing should come to their knowledge, should want a monitor to remind them of their benefactors, or to awaken in their breasts the sentiments which are due to those who feel for their distresses, and manifested a solicitude, without the possession of it, to relieve them!

To the Almighty Disposer of human events, I humbly and fervently offer up my prayers for your prosperity, for the prosperity of the British empire in India, and for the ease, content, and happiness of the native inhabitants of it, who have a more immediate and indispensable claim to its protection.

I have the honour to be, with the most grateful and

indelible attachment, Gentlemen,
 Your much obliged, most obedient and faithful Servant.
 (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Major General Charles Morgan.

London, June 13, 1796.

Sir,—By one of the ships which sailed for India in the course of the last month, I addressed to you a short letter, acknowledging the receipt of one which I had the honour to receive from yourself, and the other officers of the brigade at the presidency; expressive in terms the most flattering and honourable to me, of your participation in the joy of my acquittal of the charges preferred against me by the Commons of Great Britain, and your sense both of my public conduct, and regard to the general rights and interests of the service, and of the army in particular. To similar addresses from the officers of the military stations of Cawnpore, Fatty Ghur, and Chunaghur, I also wrote letters of acknowledgement in the same terms as that which I wrote to you: and addressed them to Col. Forbes, Colonel Popham, and Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, the officers commanding those stations respectively; reserving myself for a future reply, with the aid of more leisure, by the subsequent dispatches. I could not suffer the first ships to depart without making some declaration however imperfect of the sense which I felt of these testimonies of the benevolence of men, whose professional characters stood so high in my estimation of them, and in their claims upon my regard for their past exertions in the service of that adminis-

tration, over which I many years presided. Nor could a few words, suggested at the instant, satisfy my mind, which felt itself impressed with more than even the most laboured language could utter. Yet whatever the heart may conceive, it is only by the common forms of speech that its conceptions can be adequately rendered. Mine has but one mixed sentiment for this occasion; the sentiment of affection and gratitude. This is all that I can express; and this I request you to make known in whatever mode may be the most regular, to all the officers whose names are subscribed to the letters of congratulation which I have already received, and to such others, (for such I am assured there are) as may have been since transmitted for the same purpose.

Upon this occasion, I cannot but remember, with augmented satisfaction, the general address which I received from the officers of the army upon the Bengal establishment, some months after my departure from India. That act, after a lapse of more than ten years, which have passed over my head with circumstances the most degrading to me while they lasted, you, gentlemen, have now authenticated by the repetition of your former assurances, not delivered merely in the form of a deed of common acquiescence, but marked as the positive and distinct sense of every division of the army residing on the same spot, and uniting to form the terms of it. Such a testimony, while it glorifies its subject far beyond the lustre of artificial distinctions, reflects, at the same time, the highest credit (if I may say so much upon a point in which I have so near an interest) on those who have delivered it; and proves, that neither length of

time, nor the influence of causes which have commonly governed the judgment of mankind, have had any power, either to change the opinions which had grown on theirs, from the effect of their own experience and observation, or to lessen the effect of those opinions on their fixed attachments.

Much as I owe for these unexampled demonstrations of the good will of the gentlemen, to whom, through your channel, I now address myself, yet it is not by this consideration alone that my gratitude or attachment is bounded. I owe much to them for whatever degree of reputation the world may be pleased to allow me. It has been my boast, and though repeatedly proclaimed, even on that ground on which the most laboured efforts were made to blast my good name, it has never been contradicted, that in the course of an administration of thirteen years, and in periods of more than common difficulty, I never joined in the formation of any military operation, which did not ultimately succeed in the complete attainment of its destined, or a better purpose. It might be permitted to me to arrogate some little merit to myself, for having discerned and applied, in the discharge of a great national trust, the ample means which I possessed in the talents, prowess, and enthusiastic ardour, of those whose services I had the power of calling into action. Therefore it was, that the measures which I could call my own were invariably successful.

Among the numerous accusations with which I have been heavily charged, it was one, that I rashly precipitated the Company's interests; and even safety, into situations of

unequal danger. And true it was, that if I had but common instruments to work with, I should have thought as they did who laid that guilt to my charge, because they knew not, that no enterprize was too great for men, who possessing, in common with their brethren of these kingdoms, the virtues of courage and honour, joined to a professional knowledge, wrought by constant practice to perfection; men whose daily habits, even to their amusements, were military, and who regarded every service in which they engaged, as their own.

In our community, it has sometimes happened, as in the best it must, that parties have been formed, which have unhappily divided men's affections, with their opinions, from each other. But no instance has ever yet occurred, in which the interests of their state were threatened with external danger, that did not unite all hearts and hands in the same common cause, and in one determined and confident resolution to maintain it against what power soever might assail it. This observation comprizes both branches of the service, the civil equally with the military; and too highly do I estimate the spirit and liberality of the latter, to fear that I may displease them, by ascribing to the former this participation in those qualities which constitute the true basis of public virtue. It is to these energies, and to this bond of union, that Great Britain is indebted for her Indian empire. May the same spirit ever animate every corps, and every department of that service, to the same honourable and prosperous exertions; and may their parent state, more and more know, and knowing, love and cherish those virtues,

from which it has derived so many and great benefits, and in which it depends for their duration and improvement. I have the honour to be, with the most affectionate attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Robert Broff. Esq. Lieutenant-Governor, and the other Gentlemen of Fort-Marlborough.

London, August 14, 1796.

Gentlemen,—I have the honour to receive your letter, and grieve that the last ships which might have carried out my acknowledgement of it, had it arrived a very few days earlier, are now on their way to India: but I feel myself impressed with too strong a sense of obligation for its contents to lose a day preparing it, however distant the means of its conveyance may be. I shall not attempt to express what no power of words can describe, the sensations of surprize, pleasure, and gratitude, which I felt on the receipt of such a testimony of the approbation and esteem of gentlemen of such consideration, and to every one of whom I am personally unknown: nor were these the only sentiments excited by it; whatever I may be, however deficient in those deserts which might entitle me to so distinguished an honour, yet your motive proceeded from a source of generosity blended with the purest streams of public virtue; such as I am proud to think could only flow from the hearts of my own countrymen; at least I have never heard or read of similar instances, in the annals of other nations. I must admire

and venerate such an effect of such a principle, even if I had no interest in its application.

I will not, however, so far undervalue your act, as to disclaim all pretensions to the benefit of it. My own conscience will allow me to lay claim to as much merit as can belong to the best intentions, and those wholly exempt from every selfish view, which could stand in competition with the general interests which I held in trust, though not without a gratification in the present approbation of my own mind, and in the hope of the future applause of my own country, and of the native inhabitants of that over which I presided.

Accept, gentlemen, my most sincere and grateful thanks for this honourable pledge of your regard, and my most fervent wishes for the prosperity of your establishment, and for the happiness of every individual composing it.

I have the honour to be, with the most respectful acknowledgements, Gentlemen,

Your greatly obliged, and most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Copy of a letter supposed to have been lost in the Hindchinbrooke, in the year 1785, as it has never been answered.

[The following Letter is extracted from the *Sær Mu-taquerin*, or the History of Hindustan ;—an highly interesting work; originally written in the Persian language, by *GOLIAM HUS IEN*, a native of India; and translated into English by *NOTI-MANUS*, or *MUSTAPHI*, the Author of this Letter, who is a native of Persia. We publish this

Letter in the exact words of the Author, not only as a specimen of the proficiency which an Asiatic has attained in our language, but also as a testimony of the esteem in which Mr. Hastings was held by the native inhabitants of India.]
To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esq. late Governor General of the British Dominions in the East Indies.

Lucknow. 15th Feb. 1785.

Honoured Sir,—It is, to-day, five years since I had the honour to speak to you ; nor has it been in my power to see you these two years. Your time is too important, Honourable Sir, to be engrossed, even for a moment by any thing short of some material business, on my part: But yet I have been enjoying you all this while: I have been enjoying you, Honourable Sir, in that reverential awe, and that high admiration, you have impressed all Hindustan with—in that love of their's which the natives have more than once forcibly expressed for your person, and to which you are the only European that ever had any access: so that whenever, in letters from London, or in public papers, I chanced to observe that the best qualified judges in Europe, had it at last closed with the high opinion entertained of your talents in India, I exulted in that universal approbation, as if Lord Stairs's excellent tracts had reflected some lustre even upon me. Gone are now our joys, Honourable Sir—You are quitting us. This piece of intelligence, to which you seemed to have prepared our minds, has shaken my whole frame, as if it were some sudden unexpected stroke. To no purpose do I search for solace in roving from seat to seat, and from garden to garden: *Post equitem sedet atra Cura*—Nothing

is green for me now in those once pleasing spots: they are become so many dreary desarts, nor am I ever sensible of my being gone in, or come out, but when I am put in mind of it by my people.

To no purpose is it to repeat to myself, that the English are but so many strangers to me, and that yourself, after all, are but one of those strangers. Soon my heart recoils at the sacrilegious argument; and a recollection, partly pleasing, and partly painful, never fails to inform me internally, that after an intercourse of five and twenty years, those strangers are become my only countrymen; that yourself, Honourable Sir, are my oldest acquaintance amongst those countrymen, and, moreover, my partial and munificent patron; and that if, instead of shining in the world as the Chatham of the East, it had been your fate to have moved only in an humble station, you would have been my bosom-friend.

It has been a standing rule hitherto with me, Honourable Sir, never to take a personal leave of my friends. But many are the alterations occasioned in me by your departure; and it is not without a sense of jealousy I see Colonel Martine hurrying down to bid you his last farewell. Twice have I attempted to return to Europe, and twice have I been obliged to come back, after having lost every thing; so that, ten years ago, I had sat myself down with a resolution to listen to the voice of Providence, and to end my days in India: but India is become a dreary waste for me now; and I am now preparing to quit it for the third time, were it but to get rid of that emptiness which every-where surrounds me.

I have known your person, Honourable Sir, these five and twenty years. The life of dispute and contention to which you have been doomed this long while, cannot have altered the original sensibility of your heart. Receive, then, Honourable Sir, an offering worthy of it. This letter—this artless, disorderly letter, has been in many a spot bedewed with the tear of affection, and more than once interrupted by the sob of regret, and the scream of deep-felt woe.

May that Providence that has over-shadowed you in many an awful occasion, continue to watch over your person in your intended journey! And when, after a long series of years gloriously spent, your last hour shall have come, may you depart with recollection enough to remember, that you have been an ornament to your Nation, a benefactor to your Country, and a resource to an infinity of distressed.

I am,

With an everlasting attachment, Honourable Sir,

Your ever obliged, respectful Servant,

NOTA-MANUS.

ESSAY

ON THE

GEO CORNEL

COLONIZATION OF HINDOOSTHAN

By East Indians.



WITH

AN APPENDIX,

ON THE PRESENT MODE OF AGRICULTURE AMONG
THE ABORIGINES.



BY

C. A. FENWICK.

Calcutta ;

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, CIRCULAR ROAD ; AND SOLD
BY MESSRS. THACKER AND CO. AND MR. J. J. FLEURY.

1828.

P R E F A C E.



THE Author's distance from the press having obliged him to transfer the supervision of the publication to the Editor, he feels himself called upon, in sending the ensuing Essay into the world, to annex a few remarks, by way of explanation of certain points connected with it.

It is now more or less two years since the intention of publishing the Essay in question was announced—a delay which may seem to some to render an apology indispensable; but the Editor is sorry that he has none in his power to offer, but what will appear to some unnecessary, and to others unsatisfactory. All that he has to say on this head may be summarily expressed in the few words,—that the circumstances which occasioned the delay were such as

were not either in his own power or that of the Author to control. He may, however, be permitted to assure the reader, that this long lapse of time has not been altogether unserviceable to the Essay, as it has enabled the Author to make some valuable additions to it.

As Mr. Ricketts has anticipated, or rather, to use a familiar phrase, has stumbled upon, several ideas contained in the Essay above mentioned, it may not be improper to state, that the similarity in question has originated, not from plagiarism, but simply from the nature of the subjects handled by the Author and Mr. R. ; and it will be remarked, that the plans delineated in the two pamphlets essentially differ from each other. In fact, it is difficult to say what Mr. R.'s plan is. The Editor cannot see but what after all it may end in a matter of " private enterprise."

If the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru is right in the explanation he has given of Mr.

R.'s plan in the following passage, whether it is likely in any material manner to benefit the body of East Indians, it certainly is not what is advocated in the succeeding Essay ; and which of the two plans is the most patriotic, philanthropic, desirable, or feasible, it is submitted to the judgment of the discerning and candid reader. Speaking of Mr. R.'s scheme, the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru says: " It is, in so far as we can understand it, to establish a joint stock association, composed of twenty, fifty, a hundred or more share-holders, and with the joint capital to carry on some extensive joint concern in the Mofussil, *as an example to East Indians of what may be done in the interior, and by way of exciting them to turn their steps to the paths of industry in that quarter*, instead of confining themselves to the narrow sphere of Calcutta." If this, I say, be a correct statement of Mr. R.'s plan, it will at once be seen, that it differs from the one recom-

mended in the succeeding Essay. But Mr. R. rejects the explanation, as giving his plan too much the character of a *private enterprise*, and insists on the patriotism of it, which, he is pleased to think, gives it all its value. No doubt it would have done, could the patriotism of his plan be discovered ; but we have searched for it in vain in his pamphlet, unless, which is rather problematical, it be the case that it is intended by Mr. R. and his associates to afford, with the lack of rupees which is to be raised, the means of independent employment to a number of East Indians in the Mofussil : but then it must be in a less precarious line than commerce, otherwise there is very little reason to believe that it will succeed.

The main object with the East Indians should be, to devise some means which will embrace the benefit of the largest number possible of their community, and give them a permanency of footing in the country. The Editor cannot see how this can be

done, but by acquiring a permanent interest in the soil, by the acquisition of landed property, and its improvement by the cultivation of such things as will be a source of present maintenance and ultimate opulence. This must be the foundation of East Indian prosperity ; and this he knows to be the opinion of some Europeans of long standing in the country, whose names, were he permitted to mention, would impart all the weight desirable to the suggestion. Mr. Ricketts, the Editor is sure, deserves well of his countrymen for having their welfare so much at heart ; but until he lay more distinctly down his plan, it cannot, of course, with propriety, be recommended for adoption. The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru has also recommended a scheme for the amelioration of East Indians, which, with Mr. Kyd's suggestions, deserve consideration ; but the Editor has no room to spare for the purpose.

Should another edition of the Essay be called for, the Editor is permitted to assure

the public, that no pains will be spared to add to its value, by more information respecting the localities, and agricultural and commercial facilities of the country. It is earnestly hoped, that the Essay, in its present form, will not be found undeserving of the attention of East Indians; and that it will not fail, in some measure, to conduce to the end aimed at in it, viz. of turning the close, serious, earnest, and candid attention of the East Indians to the necessity, practicability, and advantages of the colonization of Hindoosthan by them.

THE EDITOR.

N. B. Communications on the subject, addressed to the Author at Sylhet, will be thankfully received.

AN ESSAY, &c,



It should appear reasonable to suppose, that the affairs of India ought to occupy the minds, and have a prominent place in the hearts of those, who, next to the aborigines, have the strongest claims to the benefits so largely derivable from its soil and articles of trade and manufacture ; but serious must the disappointment of the lover of his country be, who, when he comes to enquire into the thing, finds, that instead of it, a most culpable indifference manifestly prevails, nearly throughout the whole body of the East Indians ; and that so few know any thing of a country in which they were born and brought up, and in which alone all their future hopes as a numerous people centre !

It is to be feared, that few of them could satisfactorily answer the question, What is there in the chief concerns of India, that ought to interest them most, and call forth their best energies into exercise ? It cannot be denied, that various things of considerable importance engage the attention of

some of them, and to accomplish and further which, commensurate efforts *are* made by them ; but it may be questioned, whether those things have a tendency to promote their future welfare as a people. To notice but one instance. The existence of the “ Oriental Literary Society ” is well known. Its plan, as far as I can learn from its proceedings, is to meet together once a week for the purpose of discussing extemporaneously the subject previously given out ; from which, if I may be permitted to conjecture, its object would appear to be, to form either private or public speakers. As far as it regards intellectual improvement, it must be admitted to possess some importance ; but circumstanced as the East Indians are, eligible only to inferior offices under Government, and those requiring no oratorical talents to fill them with credit, whatever importance may be allowed to it, it is far from being equal in importance to those of a nature tending to promote their domestic comforts, and extend their national rights*.

* The Society before whom I had the honour of laying this Essay, and through whose persuasion, as well as those of other friends, it now appears before the public, had also been noticed ; but as it now no longer exists, the remarks have been since omitted.

India has from time immemorial been looked upon as valuable and inexhaustible mines of wealth. From the earliest periods, she has been the great resort of various nations, for almost all the most valuable commodities. In more modern times, Portugal, Holland, France, and England, have successively participated, in no common degree, in the benefits of the fruits of her bowels, and made no small struggles to maintain their respective preponderance of power therein ; but especially, the last of them. Her capabilities of conferring benefit, however, have not yet been altogether exhausted, nor have they all been explored. Daily experience shows, that she has yet enough within herself to enrich many more nations. How much is it to be regretted, that whilst foreign nations are enriching themselves through her means, and at the same time expressing a just and

I would here beg leave to add a few words respecting the Theatre, which some of my young countrymen have lately opened. I am quite at a loss to conceive, of what utility it can be to them. They cannot have forgotten the remark of the father of modern philosophy, that "the stage is more beholden to love, than to the life of men." No one who has with any degree of attention watched his feelings, whilst attending to a love-scene, will deny the truth of this observation. In these trifles, not to say worse, how much money is expended, is inconceivable !

sity of a change in the present pursuits and habits of living of the East Indians ;—and it becomes an inquiry of no small moment, what are the means best calculated to improve the present condition of the East Indians, and to raise them to that standing in the scale of society, from which they are at present at so great a distance ?

I need scarcely answer, Colonization appears to be the only feasible and effectual means of encompassing this grand object ; of accelerating the march of their prosperity, and of advancing their importance in the world.

I propose, therefore, to offer a few suggestions on the colonization of Hindoostan by East Indians, in which it is my object to show its *necessity, practicability, and advantages.*

I cannot but suppose, that with the views contained in the following pages, some will not agree ; but I feel convinced, that those who consider the subject maturely, will see reason to coincide with them. I may also add, that having been myself some years back engaged in similar pursuits, which circumstances over which I had no control obliged me to relinquish ; and having liv-

ed much among the aborigines, and seen a great part of Hindoosthan, I cannot but hope, that in general my plan will prove satisfactory.

THE
NECESSITY OF COLONIZATION.



It has added not a little to my determination to lay down a few thoughts on this interesting subject, that few have been inconsiderate enough to question the necessity of East Indians colonizing the country. That such should be the case, it is reasonable to suppose, after the experience of a sufficient length of time has evinced the hopes of Government's providing for such a numerous and daily increasing body as that of the East Indians to be vain presumptions. It is nevertheless evident, that the necessity is more *acknowledged* than *felt*.

Upon the agitation of the intentions of those generous individuals who were instrumental in establishing THE CALCUTTA APPRENTICING SOCIETY, it afforded me no little pleasure to recognize some indication of a conviction of the necessity of the who considered colonizing the country; but reason to consider. I add, that having chagrined to find afterwards engaged in similar circumstances over which I proof that the obliged me to relinquish; and a little or

nothing to promote their future permanent prosperity ; and my disappointment was greatly augmented to learn more subsequently, that the most successful, though not the most useful, branch of its operations has for some time past been principally supported by the Insurance Societies of Calcutta.


The necessity there exists for the East Indians' colonizing Hindoosthan may be evinced by a variety of considerations : a few of these we shall touch upon. The more translucent this can be made, the easier it will be for them to perceive the peculiarity of their case, and the desire to remedy it will naturally be created.

In the first place, then, I would direct their attention to the circumstance, that India is their *home*—the only spot upon earth to which they can with any degree of propriety naturally lay claim as their own. Here it is that they first draw their breath, and spend their juvenile years, than which nothing endears a place more to men. It is this which makes a man a lion, when there is danger of his early haunts being invaded. It is this that glows like a perpetual flame in the bosom of our transmarine friends, who

wish to enjoy no other happiness on this side the grave so much, as to be able to return to the land of their youth, and lay their bones *in the tombs of their forefathers!* *This feeling does not more actuate the natives of a civilized country than the inhabitants of the barren wastes of Africa, or those of the snowy Andes.* It operates with such force at times as to render life a burthen, when the hope of returning to the land of one's nativity is cut off; and it is worthy of remark, that this attachment is strongest in those who have spent their earliest years among rural scenes. Nature seems to have been so ordered, as to impart a more lasting impression of things with which people become familiar in the country than those in towns. It would not, perhaps, be very difficult to trace the cause of this; but as that would lead me to digress from the subject more immediately under my consideration, I waive the inquiry. My argument demanded some hints on the subject, as they lead us to conclude, that so long as the East Indians love to dwell in the metropolis, and seem to dislike an abode in the interior, they are actually removed far from the scenes and circumstances, which attach us most strongly

to our country. By taking up their abode in the interior, and thereby acquiring a natural attachment to the soil, they would be able to set a legitimate value on it, and thenceforward deem an alienation from it, a calamity of immense magnitude. Unless such a temper is produced in the sympathies of the East Indians, they will never be able to perceive the extent of the claims they have in the soil, and the soil on them. Every country has necessarily a strong hold on the regards of its children, and it is the duty of the latter to manifest it upon all occasions. The East Indians, on the contrary, seem to take pains to show, that they are the only people in the world who are indifferent to this virtuous feeling. Their own country has no manner of charms for them. The richest soil—a country where nature yields her bounties almost spontaneously, is unaccountably despised by her own sons ! I have not seldom been entertained by hearing several East Indians speaking in most enthusiastic strains of the country where they had resided only for a short time to acquire an education, which, it is believed, their own does not afford. It has proved to them a kind of nursery, but to give the preference

to a foreign land, and depreciate one's mother country, is just like loving school better than home, or the embraces of a mercenary nurse than the lap of a mother. That man's heart must be a strange thing indeed, who can wink at the ties of nature, and loathe his mother because she is not so comely as his nurse, and because it is *his own* fault that she has not those attractions which would command his esteem! We shall touch upon this point again, when we come to discuss the nature of the impediments which, it is supposed, the East Indians will have to combat in attempting to colonize the country. What has been briefly said of the necessity there is of the East Indians residing in the interior, and their pursuing agriculture, under the persuasion that the soil is their own, will not, it is hoped, be deemed unimportant. For where is that man who makes the most distant pretension to patriotism, and does not love his own country better than any others, whatever be the local advantages in their favour? How soon would that country be desolated, whose people were disposed like the East Indians! Some of them most unnaturally designate England their *home*, and express

an undue eagerness *to return to it*, as they phrase it. Supposing that all those East Indians who have been educated in England had the means to go back to it for the purpose of terminating their existence there, and supposing that these are looked upon as the most creditable of the whole body, who would be left to show, that India was a desirable residence? And who would be found so capable of contributing to her prosperity? They must be permitted to make choice of their *homes*; but it is impossible to commend the disposition. 

The prosperous condition of the aborigines brings another necessity to light in support of the plan of colonization I am recommending. The aborigines cannot surely be allowed to have a greater interest in the soil of Hindoosthan than the East Indians. To the former it belongs from time immemorial; to the latter by the intervention of a series of circumstances, from the time when the Europeans first commenced their commercial intercourse with it. The East Indians seem to have been thrown into the country by an inscrutable Providence, as it were, to teach the aborigines the art of turning to account those advantages of which

their ignorance precluded them from availing themselves. Or it may be considered as the display of the judgment of the Supreme Disposer of the earth on the aborigines, for their gross abuses of the innumerable blessings which they have all along enjoyed. How bountiful has the Almighty been to them, in spite of their aggravated crimes ! The fatness of the land was given to them ; but instead of serving their Donor with their substance, they have devoted themselves to the worship of the work of their own hands ! Let not these remarks, however, be construed into a supposition, that I entertain the slightest idea of the East Indians ultimately supplanting the aborigines, so far as to rule over them, or to turn them out of the country, or even to maintain any great preponderance of advantages over them : far from it. The most circumscribed insight into the rise and progress of nations must convince any one, that such a supposition, under the existing peculiar circumstances, would be truly preposterous. It would be no small absurdity to conceive, that while the aborigines are being progressively enlightened, they will retrograde back into their former, or even their pre-

sent comparative pusillanimity. We have, on the contrary, every reason to believe, that in time they will become a most interesting people in the universe, and that they are designed to cut a conspicuous figure on the stage, which, by the allotment of Providence, has become, and will probably continue, always theirs. Their present prosperity is no mean indication of what, I am firmly persuaded, they will arrive at in due time. All that is meant by these remarks is, that a body of men being raised up in this country, under circumstances which equally entitle them to share with the aborigines in the benefits derivable from it, it would lead us to suppose, that Providence either intended to bless the latter in some peculiar manner through the instrumentality of the former, or to punish the one for their ingratitude, by making the other take away from them so much of those benefits, which they will in fact do, if they also do not forfeit them by *their* ingratitude.

So long, however, as the East Indians view themselves as strangers in their own country, and act accordingly, keeping aloof from those pursuits which mainly render the aborigines a prosperous people,

they must of a certainty prepare for being lorded over by those upon whom they now look down with contempt. I repeat, that if the East Indians fail to found their hopes of prosperity as a people upon the circumstances which *now* help forward the aborigines, the time will be rapidly advancing, when, instead of the latter emulating the example of the former, the former will be driven to the necessity of striving to vie with the latter, for advantages which, by timely consideration and activity on their part, might have equipoised between them. But very inopportunately for the existing state of the East Indians' mind, the aborigines have begun to open their long closed eyes. The Brahmun has ere this resorted to the humble plough and the shop, to be found at which would formerly have attached an indelible stigma to his character. I do not mean to extenuate the many notable foul practices in the commission of which they are daily detected to acquire an iniquitous independence, which, much as it is to be deplored, many of them have secured. Their matchless duplicity and unparalleled dishonesty are proverbial. This is freely admitted; but yet, a closer view would convince any

body; that the real cause of their prosperity, among the aborigines in general, lies independent on their dishonesty and duplicity, and rather in their well-known attachment to the places of their nativity, than in any thing else. Many of them have drawn their breath in forbidding parts of the country, such as are subject to annual inundations; or to periodical or perpetual prevalence of malignant disease. To these, they almost invariably return from the metropolis or popular towns, (whither they had conveyed themselves in order to earn something over and above what the partial cultivations they are wont to carry on in their places of nativity are capable of yielding,) as soon as they have accomplished their object; and there they spend their infirm days. If they prosper in their town undertakings, they return to their native villages, in which the first thing they do is, to extend their cultivations, purchase landed property, and build snug brick dwelling-houses. By these and other infallible methods; many of them are now the holders of extensive farms, and possess a degree of respectability and local influence, of which the most favoured and successful East-Indians of the metropolis

cannot boast. If the East Indians would prosper too, need it be recommended, and they should not feel it beneath them to tread in the footsteps of the more discerning aborigines? If ocular demonstration is convincing, need we fear to say, that the aborigines are prospering, and that by the means here recommended.

The state of the country, in other points of view likewise, shows the necessity of colonizing it by East Indians. The construction of the British Indian community, comprehending Europeans, East Indians, and aborigines is a very peculiar one, and places the East Indians, as colonists, in a field of action totally different from that in which the Americans had to commence their career. The circumstances connected with the colonists sent out by the Romans into various parts, do not correspond with the state of things in India. They themselves were the colonists, but the British are not, so that it leaves the case of the East Indians without a parallel in the pages of history. In India, the Europeans are not suffered to colonize; in America, the colonists drove back the aborigines into the interior, to make room for themselves, had not which

than the process of colonization could have been placed on an exact footing with that of the Romans. The East Indians are to defeat it, by a fair competition with the aborigines. The Romans doubtless acquired access to the countries to which they emigrated by coercive measures, in the same manner as the British have gained their possessions in India; but they, as well as these, did not extirpate the aborigines, who though they were subjugated by strangers, were left at liberty to pursue their usual occupations, as far as they comported with the laws and political arrangements of their conquerors. The East Indians will not have to endure the fatigues of long military journies, or the inconveniencies of endless voyages, to carry their point *vi et armis*. This their ancestors have already done for them, and they have nothing more to do than to put their shoulder to the wheel of colonization immediately, and set it in motion. It is of no use to call Hercules with his ponderous bludgeon to become their champion. They have a better protector in the sceptre of Britain.

The fact that whilst the natives are in reality the sole, or nearly the sole, occupants

of the soil of India, and are able enough to perceive the importance, which the smallest patch of ground attaches to its possessor, they will do, as indeed they are doing, every thing to secure it more effectually to themselves,—calls for the immediate attention of the East Indians to colonization. The consequences resulting from this circumstance must be obvious to every one. It is enhancing, and has done so for some time past, the value of lands to an extent of which none but those can form an adequate idea, who have taken the trouble to dive into the state of things in the interior. They are endeavouring to engross all those tracts of country which have hitherto been left to run waste, or to turn into impenetrable jungles:—woods are being cleared away, and the alluvial places are attempted to be improved. It is not meant to infer from this, that they have brought their newly acquired possessions into a prosperous state of cultivation. No, the poor simpletons are yet either too wary of their purses, or lack that spirit of enterprise without which no country can promise rapid improvement. It is to be remembered, however, that so long as they secure to

themselves, and that they are now
 which, and which would be a great
 and begin to improve the East Indians
 ing to make room for themselves, (which
 will soon be the case,) they will of course
 be at liberty to let such a valuation upon
 them as their justice will readily suggest, and
 that what may now be obtained for a bad
 per beegha, will not then be procurable for
 less than 2 rupees. When this takes place,
 how mortifying must it prove to an indus-
 trious individual, to be forced to take up
 lands which will require a double portion
 of labour to enable him to keep clear of in-
 volvements! It falls to my happy lot to
 inform the East Indians, that there are yet
 immense portions of the country in an un-
 cultivated state, which could very easily be
 procured, either by purchase or on long or
 permanent leases. Some of these lie as
 naked as they came out of the waters of the
 deluge, but might with very little labour be
 brought to a successful culture: others ex-
 hibit a partial improvement, and are never
 made to yield more than one solitary crop
 in the year. I have examined the properties
 of several such spots myself, and may safely
 give my decided opinion, that they

might be made to supply labour with at least two, if not, three, crops in the year. The natives could never satisfactorily inform me of the cause of such waste of land. Some said, the soil was not good, and others pleaded want of time or hands; but I attribute it to their indolence, the lower class having a strange propensity to idleness. Some of them will forsake their best field to be employed as a *chuprassee* or *dumcan* in a lucrative house. They cannot yet comprehend what it is to live out of service, though from the very insignificant labour they bestow upon their cultivations, they might have been expected to have been pretty well convinced, that they need not to look for lucrative employment beyond the precincts of their fields. It is not improbable, that one of the causes of the neglect of their lands is the very little pains required to secure the usual crop. And what is very characteristic of the indolence of the aborigines is, that when a field has repeatedly failed to produce the expected crop, in consequence of inundations or droughts, it never strikes them, that these evils might be remedied by sinking wells in their fields. I do not refer to the annual inundations to which

parts of some of the lower districts of the
 ject. It might, without much trouble, be
 made to appear, that so far from their
 proving pernicious to the prospects of the
 farmers, they might, on the contrary, be
 be welcomed. The coat of earth acquired
 in the lands might in some instances prove
 unfriendly to paddy, and the continuance
 of the water beyond the seed-time may
 put that article completely out of their
 list; nevertheless other things might be
 made to yield a better reward. The de-
 structive inundations alluded to, are un-
 usual quantities of rain, which as they are al-
 ways uncertain, the hope, that it will not be
 so the next season, easily deceives the poor
 fellows into indifference about its tempo-
 rary consequences. On the other hand, when
 a want of a proper quantity of rain for two
 or three successive years, occasions a fail-
 ure, it as little strikes them to contrive means
 to irrigate their lands. In general, how-
 ever, the cause of so much country running
 waste and wild, is certainly the want of ac-
 tivity and enterprise. If they can make a
 shift to live upon one or two paltry crops,
 they care very little about what their lands

might be made to produce by a small portion of additional labour. Thus the richness of the land is left to go a begging. But why should it be suffered to be so, as long as there are East Indians capable of placing a more reasonable value on the capabilities of the soil? Does not this circumstance imply a necessity of their colonizing it? Is it right to suffer their own country to remain a manger, wherein they must ere long seek access, but probably be refused admittance? But I shall waive this argument for the present, as some might be disposed to regard it as maintaining an advantage rather than a necessity..

From these general considerations, I descend to a few particular ones, from which, I trust, the necessity of what I am speaking, will be more evident. Before, however, proceeding to do this, I think it necessary, to prevent misapprehension, to explain the sense in which I use the term colonization. The term is derived from the Latin word *colonia*, signifying, " a company of people transplanted from one place to another ;" or " a body of people drawn from their mother country to inhabit some distant place." There are some, however, who give it a

somewhat different meaning, i. e. "the country planted, or a plantation." Something similar to this is the sense in which I have used, and will use the term throughout the Essay; and if I mistake not, I have of late generally seen it used in the same sense. I am sensible, that it does not exactly convey the idea I intend, and some may be disposed to think, that *agriculture* or *husbandry* would have been a fitter word; but that would have been too limited a designation to express the nature of my plan, which, it will be seen by and by, does not simply comprehend agricultural pursuits, but a variety of such other manual arts, and handicraft and scientific works, as in colonizing a country are simultaneously carried on. I do not, therefore, know that I could have fixed upon any other term that would have answered my purpose better than the one I have adopted. The East Indians, at least the best part of them, at present, reside in the metropolis. Should they at any time be induced to attempt colonization, it will be necessary for them to emigrate in bodies into the interior, to the remoter parts of which they are such strangers, that their removal from Calcutta

would certainly appear to them as removing from one region to another. Hence it will be seen, that my meaning of the word is, after all, not so foreign to some of the meanings given above as some might be inclined to suppose*.

The rapid multiplication of the numbers of the East Indians, is another and a most powerful reason for their colonizing the country. By residing and multiplying in the metropolis, the East Indians will shortly baffle all the wishes of Government to make provision for them, in such of its services as the nature of them will allow. No state in the world can possibly find the means of affording food and raiment for those who render themselves incapable of providing for themselves through the medium of any thing else but servitude. A hundred thousand could at once be supported by Government in the military service, but its peculiar policy precludes the possibility of it. And this circumstance probably, under the existing state of things, is most favourable to the East Indians. War, foreign

* The reader had not been troubled with these remarks, but for some objections which were made to the word, as used here, by some to whom the writer had shown the manuscript essay. He takes this opportunity of returning his thanks to those and other individuals for some other valuable remarks of theirs, which have enabled him to improve these pages since they were first written.

war especially, usually draws away the attention of people from evils that prevail within doors. Most politicians have made good use of this method in times of domestic turbulence. It is also a capital plan to thin the population, when it begins to be overgrown, from which many sore vicissitudes have happened to the state. But I must say no more on this delicate subject, and will only bid the East Indians be exceedingly glad that it is what it is. It is to be hoped, that the soldier's ardour has not yet been communicated to them, and leaves room for a very different species of enthusiasm. It is well that they are not perpetually haunted with dreams of cannonading and carnage, prize-money, or any sort of booty earned by "hairbreadth'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach." By all means, let the aboriginal Othellos have it; but let the East Indians do something which savours more of "home-spun." Let them have a field of honour, but not strowed with the dead and dying,—a campaign, but not where people get more broken heads than they can well afford to spare; where more widows and orphans are created than society knows well what to do with; and where

more blood is spilt in one day than a whole age in a country can raise! But supposing it were desirable, where is the possibility of accomplishing it? It must long be a hopeless case. The other service (the civil) is likewise not accessible. We shall, therefore, say nothing further about it, but proceed to show what may be more deserving the attention of East Indians, the necessity which arises for their colonizing the country from a view of their present peculiar situation, in many respects gloomy and unfavourable to their future welfare.

I have said, they cannot be provided for either in the civil or military service. Thus circumstanced, they willingly avail themselves of what comes next within their notions of gentlemanly employment; but these unfortunately happen to be of so limited a nature, and attended with such a variety of unpleasant circumstances, that, though they are at present apparently unconcerned about other things more likely to ensure their permanent prosperity, they will soon be obliged to attend to them, and see the necessity of striking into something that is capable of giving the present aspect of things a more promising turn.

The rapid increase of their numbers demands a proportionable extension of their resources. The field which they occupy now, with a very few exceptions, is the metropolis of India. In the absence of the services already noticed, the public offices of Government are open for their reception, in which only a few, comparatively speaking, earn their livelihood. These offices cannot be multiplied *ad infinitum*, nor the salary of those who are employed in them be augmented, without surmounting an impossibility. On the contrary, it is plain, that in consequence of the multiplication of hands, the admission of additional ones into them, is under very unfavourable circumstances, if we except that they must otherwise go a begging; and the time is drawing nigh when the pay of writers must be reduced, to make room for such as will be found unprovided for by the growth of idle hands. Besides this, the aborigines are making such rapid progress in the acquisition of the English language, and the inconceivable perseverance with which they make themselves dextrous in handling the pen, added to the small wages for which they let themselves

out, will soon overstock the transcribing market, if such a thing has not already taken place. The East Indians, I know, begin to feel themselves pinched for room. There are hundreds who would thankfully serve for the salaries now allowed to the aborigines, 20 or 30 rupees per month, and perhaps for less, and have effectually ceased to dream of hundreds. Many of the offices of authority begin to teem with Hindoo writers, as also all the mercantile concerns.

It might be said, that the East Indians ought to resort to mechanical arts, which are plentifully in their way in such a city as Calcutta. The fact, however, must be published, that there are scarcely half a dozen mechanics who think it worth their while to receive apprentices of this denomination of the liege subjects of his Majesty. The cause of this remains to be found out. Allowing this to pass, and supposing the present number of the East Indians (of such as want employment) were to make themselves adepts in some of the mechanical arts, they might probably do well enough; and, as it is believed that they could do more and better work than the aboriginal mechanics, these last, it may

he imagined, would, in a very short time, be brought to make sad shifts for want of work. Were this, however, possible, and did the present high notions of the East Indians permit them to adopt the extremely economical habits of the aborigines, yet the rising and the next generation after it could not all become mechanics too, without serious consequences to the prosperity of the latter description of mechanics. To stretch a point, I will even make a concession of this argument, and grant that the second and third generations could *earn their bread* without injury to the prospects of the aboriginal artisans.* What will that prove? Why, nothing more, than that while the aborigines not only keep pace with the East Indians in such professions, and at the same time prosper in every thing else, the East Indians, after excepting the small section employed as writers, will be confined simply to the former :—a pretty alternative this, to be sure, for nearly a whole people! No other parts of Hindoosthan saving Calcutta, are accessible to East Indians. In Calcutta they must live, and in Calcutta they must die. The necessity of this must be questioned. It must be denied, that

handicrafts *alone* ever had a tendency to promote the general welfare of an infant people. This may be a very good plan to enable foreigners to escape being perpetually imposed upon by native artisans, and thereby secure a more rapid independence, and retire from business ; but it cannot otherwise be effected than at the expense of the East Indians. *

Calcutta is a place of trade, and the minds of its inhabitants are full of it ; hence it is not to be wondered at, that trades, and chiefly the mechanical arts, will be recommended in preference to any thing else. I do not lay stress upon the mere supplying the means of common subsistence : begging would do that. But I ask, why must it be indispensable for the East Indians to bury themselves within the metropolis ? Do not the large tracts of country, most of which are almost uninhabited and uncultivated, throw open their arms, and promise far easier and far more independent remuneration of labour than any of the occupations in which the East Indians are at present engaged, or could engage, in the metropolis ? If they must be placed on the same footing with the aborigines, (which, I readily grant, it would

not be disgraceful,) why not allow the interior of the country to be the sphere of their respective undertakings as well as the city? Must the East Indians be made the instruments in the hands of merchants and mechanics, and these chiefly foreigners, who have no manner of claim in the soil, for the purpose of enriching them, and enabling them to carry away the fatness of it? If such a thing cannot be helped, let the aborigines by all means be permitted to engross to themselves the servile credit of auxiliaries. The miseries that threaten the growing population of the East Indians should not be proposed to be ameliorated by things which, (putting the best construction on the motives of those that suggest them) are by no means calculated to better their condition.

Let it be considered also, whether the numbers of the East Indians who are almost in a state of starvation, do not more forcibly suggest the necessity of their colonizing the country than words can express. In the nature of things, it is literally impossible, whatever we have said for the sake of argument, that Government can provide for the whole body of existing and

increasing East Indians, and their present resources are confessedly inadequate to meet the wants of them all. The very circumstance of numbers strolling about the streets of the city of palaces, burdens upon their helpless parents for want of employment, is an indisputable proof of this assertion. Hence they must turn their thoughts, their ingenuity, and their means, immediately to something else. But to what else will they resort? Will they become mechanics? Will they become tradesmen? Will they become seamen? The first of these, we presume, we have shown would but scantily provide for a part of them. Some may, indeed, become mechanics; and, we may add, some may become tradesmen too, though it is too evident to need to be shown, that but a very few, in their present penurious state as a body, could enter upon any speculation, on a scale sufficiently extensive to render it worth their while to undertake it. Seamen they need not become, however easy it may be of access; neither ought it to be thought a desirable life, when they can be any thing else preferable. Had there been much necessity for foreign trade, they might then become seamen; but there is

none, at least not at present. What then remains that they can become? Yes, and if some of them choose, they may become drummers and fifers too. Let me not be supposed to intend to insult their feelings. Far be it from me! It is my professed object to render them a respectable body of men hereafter, if they will but follow the steps I have taken the liberty to recommend. While I am on this point, let me not leave it without calling the attention of my countrymen to the lamentable fact, that many of them are actually no better employed, though not from choice. In the thing itself, I admit, there is no disgrace; but certainly there is in the circumstances connected with their being employed in those lines of profession. If it is a disgrace, to whom do they owe their being thus singled out for drummers and fifers? Is it not to the inattention of those who are capable of taking the lead in promoting the welfare, the respectability, and the independence* of their countrymen? Is it not to their self-will—their pride, which, though it affect to despise the peace-

* I would just desire the reader to bear in mind, that the sense in which I use the word *independence*, is simply opposed to the present dependant state of the East Indians, in reference to the means of getting their livelihood.

ful and useful employment of a farmer, can yet bear to think, that a part of their countrymen are in a far worse situation ?

It is in vain to conceal, that they will in a short time be driven to the necessity of abandoning the metropolis ; but it would be wiser to be regulated by choice. The present moment is available, and colonization would be attended with far less difficulty and toil now, than at a time when circumstances would oblige them to make very mortifying stretches. Let them bestow a legitimate reflection on the subject, and *the necessity* of colonizing the country will not require to be farther urged.

THE
PRACTICABILITY OF COLONIZATION.

Having, as I trust, shown the necessity of the East Indians' colonizing the country, I proceed next to consider, as proposed, the *practicability* of it, which, I am sorry, though not surprised, to find has been more than once questioned by different persons: some of these persons seem to have paid some attention to the subject; the rest, I am fully confident, have never bestowed a single thought upon it, at least not one that could deserve that name. Were I ever so much inclined to put a favourable construction upon the motives that dictated their hostility (I cannot call it by a better name) to the undertaking, which, it is the design of this essay to recommend strongly and earnestly, I should yet be extremely at a loss to account for it, so devoid of all rationality, and even common sense is it; and, certainly, without the least shadow of fact to countenance it. This I hope to prove in the course of the succeeding strictures. I do not, however, mean to deny, that the East Indians will have to overcome any ob-

stacles whatever in their attempt to colonize the country. Doubtless, they will have to combat with several and great difficulties ; but they are by no means such as to be insurmountable. If undertakings of less importance and magnitude are not unattended with impediments and toils, it is most reasonable to expect, that an undertaking of such immense importance and extent as the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians must be accompanied with much more toil and difficulty. If, however, they must colonize the country, that is, if the necessity of their doing it has been sufficiently and satisfactorily evinced, I would beg leave to ask, when and how, then, are these impediments to be removed ? Is it when the country will be thrown open to foreign colonization ? Can nothing be done unless foreigners have a finger in the pie ? Or will it be said, that the aid of foreigners must be waited for ? That such ideas are chimerical, may be easily proved. In the first place, our wise politicians are well aware, that there are no prospects of the country's being thrown open to immigration. In the next place, the existing impediments must be removed before the influx of foreign co-

lonies can prosper. If *they* are to remove them, the East Indians can likewise do it for themselves. Should this not be admitted, it would then follow, that all things must be previously set in order in such a manner as to enable the emigrants, on their arrival, to prosecute their labours successfully, otherwise they must be foiled, and prepared to retrace their footsteps to their respective countries. But where was such a thing ever known as attempts to clear away the obstacles to colonization ere the arrival of the colonists? The Romans were not thus favoured ; the Americans less ; and the recent enterprizers in Africa least of all. The Romans, it might be said, removed the impediments which obstructed their way at the point of the sword ; and the same will, perhaps, be said of what the Americans did in some instances. But those were obstacles of a different nature from what the East Indians will have to contend with. They had to make room for themselves in the country to which they immigrated, to subdue the original possessors of those countries, and to combat with various other such difficulties. The East Indians will have no

such thing to do. Their way is comparatively smooth before them ; they live under powerful protection ; they have only to put their hands to the plough, and prosper. Let us again, for a moment, advert to the facts connected with the different attempts to colonize the countries already once or twice mentioned.

When the first settlers in America immigrated to the country which now gives them a name, was it previously prepared for their reception ? or rather, were they not sensible that they would be obliged to do it themselves ? And did they not, by steadiness and perseverance, secure prosperity ? That the East Indians should be able to do less, after the state of things has been brought to that train which the Americans had to labour through incredible hardships in order to effect, must be regarded as frivolous talk. Again, the African colonists entered upon the work under far less favourable circumstances than the Americans. Who can help being struck with astonishment at the detail of the singular trials which they had to endure, and are still groaning under ? Who can help admiring the perseverance of spirit

actuates them in their praiseworthy object ? Their sufferings are exquisite ; but let them not faint, for a sweet reward awaits the progress of their magnanimous career. If, under such circumstances, *they* have prospered, and are prospering, the East Indians, who have no reason to apprehend the immense obstructions which opposed the progress of the American colonists, and much less those which the African settlers had to contend with, cannot but succeed in their attempts to colonize the country. They are firmly and peaceably established in the country which their ancestors have obtained for them, - a country, which is not only the richest in the world, but in which the earth almost spontaneously yields her fruits to the touch of her children. A large portion of it has been all along kept in a state of tolerable cultivation, and they will have perfect security in forwarding their no less praiseworthy undertaking. A variety of impediments have been mentioned, which, it is supposed, render the practicability of East Indians colonizing the country, doubtful : we shall examine the most important of them.

And first of all, it is said, the climate of India presents a formidable barrier to the realization of the hope of East Indian colonists. I am at loss to conceive what could induce any one who had the smallest experience or knowledge of the real nature of the climate of this country, to suggest such a *sad* impediment to its colonization by means of East Indians! They ought to be fully aware, that the complaints we are daily doomed to hear about the insalubrity of the climate, do not spring from the aborigines, and certainly from only a few of the East Indians. If foreigners feel the effects of the climate to which they have not been inured by length of residence, are we to admit their claims, and condemn it? Ganjam and other parts of India are said to be the graves of Europeans. Well, and so it may be, without its having any thing to do with the nature of the climate of India in general; otherwise, we might with as much propriety tax England for being a worse climate than India, because some East Indians have, during their residence there, been completely crippled. If the heat and vapour of Hindoosthan have proved destructive to Europeans, the cold, fog, &c. of England

have slain their hundreds of India. How can a place at one extremity of the globe, be possibly expected to prove friendly to the constitution of one who comes all of a sudden to reside in it, from a place where the seasons, scenes, and manner of life of the people are diametrically opposite to those of it? Yet, is it not a fact, that only a few, comparatively speaking, of such Europeans as lead sober lives, have fallen the victims of the climate of India? The raging of the cholera must not be mentioned, since we are pretty certain, that there is scarcely a country in the world to which it has not extended its dreadful ravages. In other respects, the natives and East Indians do not feel more from the effects of the climate of India than the Europeans do in their respective countries. If they too are heard to complain at times, it must be more from *imitation* than any *real* cause. We are satisfied, however, that the aborigines have no manner of objection to be allowed to remain in the country of their forefathers. They love it passing well; yes, even as well as those love theirs, who claim the fairest spot in the universe as their own. This impediment, therefore, lies more in the *delicate con-*

struction of the constitution of foreigners, than in the *climate* of India itself. If this be allowed, then the colonization of India by means of Europeans must be viewed as a somewhat preposterous project, and those who recommend it must bear the imputation of cruelty. There cannot exist any very material difference in the constitution of the aborigines and East Indians, but what arises from the difference in the nature of the exercises to which their bodies have been subjected from early life ; in other respects they are the same. If the birth and the constant residence of the former have inured them to the climate, the similarity of those circumstances places the East Indians in precisely the same condition : with this in their favour, that the food to which they have been accustomed from their infancy has a greater tendency to form a more active and robust constitution than that of the generality of the aborigines, which commonly is rice, and vegetables, and pure water. And yet, wonderful to conceive, they live nearly as long as the inhabitants of Europe, who fare better in many respects ! *It must be a bad climate indeed to do so much with such insignificant means of forming the constitution !*

It is feared, that the heat of the sun would prevent the East Indians from working in their fields at mid-day. This must first be set beyond a doubt, ere it can be enumerated along with the variety of other impediments that are, I am convinced, too hastily supposed to threaten failure in the attempt to colonize. What say the East Indians themselves? Are they such milksops as to revolt at the idea of exposing themselves to the effects of the sun, and ready to cry out that they have made the experiment, and are obliged to confess that they are terribly afraid of being scorched? To give these scarecrow-manufacturers a chance of establishing their ill-omened position, I will beg leave to request answers to the following few plain questions, viz. Are not hundreds of East Indians daily seen strolling through the streets of the city, without the accommodation of *chata-burdars*? Are these burnt by the fervent rays of Phœbus, and reduced to cinders? Are there not others of them in the habits of encountering all the hardships of a seafaring life, amidst the uproar of jarring elements, the streams of scorching sunbeams, and the floods of inundating rain, storms, and tempests; heat and

cold, wet and dry ? Do they not all prove equally ineffectual in deterring them from again venturing themselves near the yawning gulf and on the faithless waves ? How many of these, may it not be asked, have there been struck to death by *coup de soleil*, or blown to atoms by the infuriated winds ? Ask the laskar, whether he ever put an East Indian's fortitude to the blush ? Have the latter run up the shrouds with less agility, or reefed the bursting topsails with less placidity of countenance ? Have they shrunk with cowardice, when their captain, pointing to the yard-arm dipping at every roll into the foaming deep, bid them take their station there ? Are the miserable Hindoos capable of doing these things ? If not, and they experience no harm from the effects of the climate, I ask, is there not every likelihood of the East Indians pursuing the peaceful occupation of farmers with every prospect of success ? Moreover, was it never known, that some of them getting astride of dromedaries, traversed the banks of the Nurbuda beneath the killing beams of a vertical sun, amidst clouds of suffocating dust ? Were they never seen manfully fighting against the disaffected Bhounsla's

warlike legions, and braving the fiery weapons that flew big with destruction out of the thundering jaws of his artillery ? Let the intrepid Goorkha say, whether the death-dealing arms of the East Indians lost their executive powers in the *imminent fields* under the melting effects of the sun ; or were they enervated by the pernicious tendency of the climate ? Let these questions be plainly answered, and it will at once be proved, that the impediments in reference to climate are imaginary. I am persuaded, as well as they must be, who are able to speak from experience, that though the lot of the East Indians were cast in the hottest part of Hindoosthan, it would not in the least prove an obstacle to a successful prosecution of the pursuits recommended here.

But how poor will the arguments in favour of the impediment under consideration appear, when we call to mind, that European mariners bear the utmost brunt of the climate, as well as, if not in many instances better than, the hardest laskar that ever crossed the line ! If the inhabitants of a region, above whose horizon the sun, as it were, just peeps, and causes his limbs to shiver into a mortification in the

removes of his genial rays, can contrive to support existence, and earn an honest livelihood, without complaining half so much as our metropolitan friends, is it not fair to admit, that the East Indian, whose birthplace and habitation lie beneath the torrid zone, would be able to endure his own climate with a far better grace? It would reflect no little shame, were it otherwise. Further, look at the European soldiers, combating with a climate to which they have not been accustomed. Look at the European indigo planters: are they not generally a healthy class of people, in spite of the supposed deadliness of the effects of the said-to-be bad climate? What an effeminate race of people would they not make of the East Indians? I beg permission to ask the East Indians, does it not behoove them to endeavour to silence our impediment-makers, by proving beyond a doubt, that there is no foundation for the ill-acquired impression that has gone abroad concerning their incapability to undertake any thing that is praiseworthy? Is not the time yet come to show, that they only require to have the way to seek their best interests pointed out? Is it necessary, that others must

think for them, and teach them what they are to do in order to secure to themselves a field of action, which, every thing, that is connected with their present and future welfare as a people, imperiously calls upon them to occupy? No; I think I shall be borne out in saying, that they have only waited for an opportunity to exert their dormant energies; and that their peculiar condition has hitherto precluded their attending to the most important step they should take; that their minds were till now completely engrossed with attending to the acquisition of those things which the support of existence immediately required; and as these necessarily placed them in a quarter where it was not only to be attended to, but where they could not properly acquire that information regarding the facilities of the interior to ensure them better livelihoods, without which prudence demanded that they should be cautious in their movements. I need not make any apology for this digression, if so it should be considered by any one.

It is true, we hear them, as well as the Europeans, complaining of heat under toil; we see them sweating beneath the pressure

of fatigue and exhaustion, in common with Europeans ; but does not every Hindoo or Musulman complain likewise, under similar circumstances ? There is not an individual among them, who, after returning from following his team, will not cry out *Kee-rod!* or *Bura-dhoop!* and so forth. So long as the East Indians are formed of flesh and blood, they must in an equal degree with others, be subject to these minor but common effects of all climates. These are effects not alone of climate, but the concomitants of labour and industry, and to avoid which, we must leave this world in search of another where men do not live “ by the sweat of their brow,” and where there is no sun.

With respect to the aborigines in India, a Hindoo or Musulman lad of 10 or 12 years of age, will tend the flocks and herds of his parents all the day long ; but be it remembered, that when he begins to find the sun too powerful, he makes no objection to betake himself to the shelter of some neighbouring friendly trees. If this privilege is conceded to the East Indian, what is there in the nature of things to prevent his regarding such a thing in any other light than

as an impediment to his undertakings ? Many of them are aware, that with all their parental injunctions, advice and admonition, they cannot restrain their boys, and, not unusually, their girls also, from running and romping about in the sun during the hottest part of the day. Let a set of trap-bats and balls be thrown in their way, with liberty to knock about the balls when, where, and how they please, and I have reason to be persuaded, that they would so little mind the sun, that they would rather forego their ordinary meals than not be on the greens. A cricket match at twelve would do no more harm to their constitution than the lolling of our milksops beneath the refreshing gusts of the pendulating *punkha*. No greater evils would befall our East Indian youths, from sporting in the sun, than those which happen to the skaters in the serpentine canal in St. James' Park. *They* are able to decide this question, whose children *are* nearly the whole of the day in the open air and sun, at some allowed or forbidden play ; but withal are the healthiest, strongest, and cheerfullest children in the city. If the skins and complexions of the youngsters are not cared much about, the sun would

not prove inimical to their health. Give an East Indian lad a *tattoo*, and he would kill it outright in the space of a week, by galloping him all day long in the sun. Could he not as well follow and tend a flock of sheep, or a herd of cows, with the help of shady trees to afford him a refreshing refuge from the heat of the sun when it becomes overpowering? I am of opinion, however, that the East Indian colonists need not absolutely to labour in the heat of the day out of doors, as the aborigines are most inconsiderately wont to do. If the colonists could prevail upon themselves to turn out of bed at 5 (it would not be requiring too much to suggest their rising even earlier) in the morning, and proceed to their fields forthwith, with their breakfast in their pockets, they would be able by 8, to go through more work than the aborigines, who seldom begin theirs till long after sunrise. They could then fall to their breakfast, and despatching it without unnecessary delay, resume their occupation at the team or hoe till 10: by which time they would have pushed through more business than they would, were they to toil at mid-day. Such a plan would preserve

them from unnecessary exhaustion, and enable them to return to their fields in the cool of the afternoon, with more vigour than they would otherwise do. During the interval thus secured, they could advantageously employ themselves within doors, or under shady topes, in some mechanical work or manufacture. This plan would also prevent their cattle from being pulled down so soon as the poor beasts that are used by the aborigines. Our East Indian scribes seldom go to their office before 10, where they usually remain till four. The colonists would have finished the most interesting part of their employment before the office hour of the former. They would, moreover, have the best part of the day to attend to a variety of such things as would procure them considerable sums of ready money. Besides which, since they would not have to plough every day in the year, what a deal of time could they command for other useful purposes ! By devoting their mornings, and part of their evenings to agriculture, they would realize more than sufficient to maintain themselves and families, and their manufactures, &c. would yield them the means of growing into respectability.

The most ostensible argument respecting the impracticability of colonization I have yet heard, is, that the East Indians will never be able to reduce their economy to that scale, which is a striking feature in the affairs of the lower orders of the aborigines. If the economy of the latter is to be viewed in the light of virtue, I would ask, Does not the argument go to prove, that the East Indians are not capable of exercising it? If imperious necessity be assigned as the cause, would not the same cause have a corresponding effect, as it respects the East Indians? To such a pass, alas! are the East Indians brought, that none are inclined to allow, that they are fit, or can be made fit, to order their affairs according to the extent of their resources, whether the motives arise out of necessity or virtue! This sounds very bad indeed. O! that it should be insinuated, that the people of all other countries in the universe can suit themselves to their circumstances, except the East Indians! Were the surmise correct, I would not hesitate a single moment to pronounce the aborigines of Hindoosthan to be superior in every respect to the East Indians. But it becomes us to examine into

the matter a little more carefully, and to find out the real fact, before we can fancy ourselves at liberty to frame such unnatural imputations.

The objection seems to be founded upon the assertion, that the aborigines live upon three rupees per month, to which rate of economy, it is presumed, the East Indians will never be able to reduce themselves ; so that their plan of colonization must, of course, prove abortive, and they must continue as they are, and look fearfully forward for the approach of the eventful era which must needs entail indescribable misery upon their progeny. If by the assertion, that the natives live upon three rupees per month, is meant that each individual of the aborigines *can* live upon that sum per mensem, it is allowed to be possible ; but if thereby it is intended to affirm, that each aboriginal family, of whatever extent, lives upon it, I would beg leave to give it a flat denial. .

Did the East Indians indeed expect nothing more than the insignificant monthly income that rewards the labours of the aborigines, an insuperable bar would at once be thrown in the way of colonization, and my endeavours to recommend it should

merit laughter; but fortunately for the East Indians, their case is not yet grown so desperate as all that, as I trust to be able to show in the course of this essay.

Money is looked upon as the only procuring cause of the support of existence—money is the infallible pivot on which all success turns—money is the thing that rouses the energies of all classes of men—there is none who thinks it worth his while to start any plan, without making money the hook of success—in short, every thing is made to hang upon money;—which has now, what music was long ago said by a celebrated dramatist to possess,

—Charms to soothe the savage breast,
To soften rocks, and bend the knotted oak.

“ Money makes the mare to go,” and, therefore, the East Indians must be made to go about the most important business (next to the concerns of a future world) he has yet to set himself to, with a silver goad! The aborigines, it is allowed by all parties, *naturally* require such an impetus to their lethargic movements, and *therefore*, the East Indians have a formidable ~~stumbling~~-block in the path by which they hope to arrive at the smallest portion of independence! I

do not neglect to say that concerning the present state of affairs, we have no doubt that some measures are necessary for the satisfaction of any objection. It only object to the stress that is so much laid upon it, as if without it nothing could be done. It is true nothing in the world, that will be allowed to be the producing cause of money itself. What can money do without labour, without industry, without enterprise?

• The aboriginal farmers live upon the produce of their fields during several months in the year, and afterwards have recourse to their Muhajuns, who supply them with corn, I allow, at an exorbitant valuation. This debt is liquidated in kind at the time of ingathering; but a surplus is almost always in the barns of the cultivators, upon which they live till the month of May or June, when they once more apply to their Muhajuns both for seed and food, which are supplied at the current price. This Muhajunee system invariably leaves the poor cultivators entirely at the mercy of their corn creditors; but the latter are interested in continuing their dealings with them, though an unsuccessful season or two should preclude the possibility of their doing so.

value of their advances immediately must advance on, or they must wash their hands of outstanding balances. Rigorous methods would drive the farmers to the necessity of absconding; and if they are prosecuted in a court of justice where, for the process is attended with more expense than the sum proposed to be realized. They, therefore, adopt the wiser plan of repeating their advances, which gives them the only chance of recovering their dues. After the last crop of rice has been gathered, and the accounts settled between the debtor and creditor, most of the poorest classes resort to the neighbouring towns and cities in order to gain a livelihood, and before the time of sowing arrives, to save, if possible, enough to pay the rent of the land they occupy; which, if they are not able to do, their Muhajuns enable them to do, that is, pay it on their part. Thus it will be perceived, that the farmers support themselves and their families during several months in the year without handling a single rupee. They obtain various articles of domestic use, such as oil, salt, fish, &c., by bartering paddy for them. In general, the cultivation is carried on by some of the neighbours

of the money which they find that they can obtain from the Government, and the money which they can obtain from the Government, in order to be able to go to the towns to earn their money, and the latter who usually receive not more than three rupees per month, which assistance would appear to have given rise to the opinion, that the natives have only *three rupees per month*, while in reality it is no such thing. It is overlooked, that while those individuals are earning that amount abroad, the hands at home are carrying on a variety of cultivations, besides rice, to add to the means of support. When an individual has none besides himself to manage his affairs in the country, he seldom or never ventures abroad in quest of three rupees per month.

To decide the matter of the support afforded by three rupees per month, we need only make a small calculation. Suppose an individual to have a wife, and only two children : what quantity of rice per diem would suffice to keep them alive ? We cannot allow them less than one seer and a half for both meals, which would make 45 seers per month, and which, at the rate of two rupees per maund, (it is cheaper in some places, and dearer at others, we take the average)

comes to 12 annas four annas, the balance
in his favour is 12 annas. Now I demand
by what sort of calculation can it be shown
out, that oil, salt, firewood, vegetables, &c.
fish, (one or other of these two last articles
he must have to make rice eatable), house-
rent, clothing, washing, shaving, pots and
pans, baskets and brooms; the defraying of
holiday expenses, and a variety of other
minor charges, are to be provided for at the
cost of only 12 annas? Our *meturs* and *mushalchees*,
it will be said, are not farmers; how
do they contrive to maintain themselves for
four or five rupees per month? I am glad the
income of our native domestics are beginning
to advance from three to four rupees. It
sounds well: we must nevertheless pursue
our investigation, and it will not be my fault
if I cannot give it a higher lift. Well, then,
the *mushalchees* and *meturs* live upon four
or five rupees per month. But are not the
Metrahees, Meturs too? Do they not usu-
ally earn better wages than their good hus-
bands? If the man happens to be a *doori-
ya*, the woman is profitably employed as
sweeper. Here is cent per cent. The five
rupees have all at once swelled up to ten
rupees per month! They are, however,

the most filthy and dissipated set of people in town. You is not the fault of the 10 rupees per month; but fix on them, and as "licensed retailers of wines and other spirituous liquors," they are such incorrigible toners! And our Mushalchees, are they Hindoos or Mughalchees? If Hindoos, they are invariably of the *Baharee* or *Kagra* caste, which does not prevent their females from serving our ladies as *dyees*; going into the jungles and gathering bundles of sticks for the markets; employing themselves as beaters of the roofs of new houses; or procuring the leaves of the date tree, and therewith making mats for sale. By any of these methods they usually contrive to gain nearly as much as their husbands. We may in like manner go through the whole train of our domestics; and, at least, double the amount of their inadequate gleanings in our services. Does not this detail of facts startle our impediment-hawkers? And will it still be maintained, that the natives are in the habits of supporting themselves for three rupees per month? If any credit would be given to my stating a fact, I could name an East Indian, who once made the experiment, (by necessity) whose table did not

cost him more than nine rupees per month, though he had four bellies to feed, and of his own, and who acknowledges to the present day, that he enjoyed more real comfort then, than when he afterwards had on the receipt of 300 rupees per month, and more than a hundred such instances, with the exception of the comfortable part of it could be adduced, and which would satisfactorily go to establish the point, that the circumstances of the East Indians may be, and in many cases are brought almost on a level with those of the aborigines*.

* Since writing the above, I have had a sight of an article in the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India, No. 13, on the colonization of India by Europeans, and find, that instead of three, they allow four rupees per month, on an average, for the support of a native, his wife and family, (see p. 98.) This does not, however, materially alter the case. If my remarks on this point be correct, they apply with nearly, if not entirely the same force to the assertion here alluded to. The writer of the article mentioned, further observes, in the same page, that "a European would be miserable with ten times that sum; it would scarcely purchase for his family the common necessities of life, leaving nothing for old age, and allow of no provision for the education of his children, who must gradually lose the peculiarities of the European, and imbibe the vices of the Asiatic character." Although what I have said in the body of the Essay obviates the necessity of taking any notice of the objections here stated, yet I may be permitted to add a very few words by way of note. If this remark, which is evidently founded upon an erroneous calculation be just, the objection may apply to the colonization of India by Europeans, but cannot apply to the colonization of Hindoostan by East Indians, who, upon my plan, need not fear the consequences apprehended by the writer of the remark in question. They may, without hesitation set it down as a thing quite possible, that ere they become superannuated and therefore helpless, their children will be

Although it is not necessary to carry this part of the question any farther, yet it is

old enough to maintain and comfort them, by carrying on their business. If they have no sons, they may adopt into their family orphan and other indigent boys, whose parents would perhaps be glad to sell with them for such a purpose, or, as hereafter recommended, they may ~~teach~~ ^{teach} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~children~~ ^{children} ~~in their leisure hours, of which, I have already shown, they will~~ ^{command many, several of them may join together, and employ a qualified European or American to do it, who may be paid for his labour as *Ichabod Crane* was, who, we are told by *Geoffrey Crayon*, in his *Legend of the Sleepy Hollow*, "was according to country custom in those parts, boarded and lodged at the houses of the farmers whose children he instructed, with these (adds the author) he lived successively a week at a time, thus going the rounds of the neighbourhood, with all his worldly effects tied up in a cotton handkerchief." Without recommending exactly the system of *Ichabod*, we may say, some such plan, which will readily suggest itself to our colonists, might easily be adopted to secure a decent education for their children. We cannot advert to the concluding part of the objection without great surprise. Whatever be the peculiarities of the European character, to us it matters little, if the absence of them does not amount to a necessary exchange for the vices of the Asiatic. That it does not, we readily avow as our decided opinion. We do not believe that there is such a necessary connection between the two, or that by a European's merely setting up as a farmer, or in any other capacity in Asia, (for they need not neglect the education of their children wherever they are,) they will, without any possibility of avoiding, catch the infectious wicked habits of its inhabitants; nor do we believe that the soil, air, and education of the labouring class of people of Europe, are so superior as to place them beyond the reach of all those vices which prevail amongst the Asiatics, except it be that of idolatry, which, however much it is to be regretted, exists in every Christian country,—in some, in the worst sense of the word, and in others, in a more refined shape. Although I differ in some points with the writer of the article already alluded to, I have much pleasure in recommending it to the perusal of my readers, for its just exposure of the injustice and impolicy of Mr. Whistley's plan, of which it is a review, and the judicious replies to the objection he has thrown out against Christianity. And I have been not a little surprised to find in a pamphlet, the subject of which has been the most distant connection with the trade of the East, or the influence of that trade on the}

that the East Indians might have a comprehensive detail of the circumstances of the farmers, and thereby be enabled to form a correct estimate of the facilities and difficulties they would meet with in the course of their making up their minds to colonise the country, I feel myself called upon to make a few additional remarks.

In most of the districts in the Lower Provinces, the native farmers usually procure fish, oil, salt, and many other necessities of life, as I have already stated, by bartering rice for them; but the produce of the paddy fields is not the only thing they have to depend upon for the support of their families. In addition to this, they have their sugar-cane, mustard, sesamum, pease, pulse, potatoes of sorts, gram, plantains, bulbous roots, and vegetables of various descriptions; melons, barley, ginger, turmeric, onions, garlic, chillies, cotton, &c. All these, with the exception of the first and last articles, they convey to market, and dispose of for ready money, by which means, they are enabled to bring home such articles of domestic need or agricultural utility, as they require to supply themselves with immediately. In this instance, it appears that labour is the

procuring cause of money. It would now seem to be a fit opportunity for their ridding themselves from the endless grasps of their Muhajuns ; but superstitious rites are so dreadfully in their way, that on them they must lay out the best part of their extra earnings, through dread of disgrace and infamy, which leaves their Muhajuns as much their lords as ever.

The sugar-cane is manufactured into sugar by a remarkably cheap and easy process; but as the manufacturers receive advances for this article likewise, the Muhajuns usually make away with the most part of it, though it is true they advance ready money for it. The cotton shares a similar fate, and leaves the cultivators under the necessity of procuring cotton from the bazar for the use of the spinners at home, who spin it into thread. The thread thus obtained, is woven for *them* into cloth by the weavers, who are not seldom paid with paddy for their trouble. It will be observed, that I have confined my notices to the inhabitants of the poorest part of the country. I have done this purposely to show, that with all the consequence and value, we are in the habits of ascribing to the shining power of things, there

are men, and those of the agricultural denomination too, who do certainly contrive to secure support for themselves and families without having much to do with cash, and who yet virtually lay out considerably more than three rupees per month. It is worthy of particular remark here, that notwithstanding their notorious indolence of character, the aborigines are able to furnish themselves with the necessaries of life, which, such as they are, could not be procured for three rupees per month in hard cash: If such is the case with the despised aborigines, it must be granted, that the East Indians would be able to surpass them in every respect, and that there can be nothing in the nature of things to prevent their deriving better support from the adoption of the means recommended to them than the former with their celebrated economy. Where then are the impediments which prevent their cheerfully, vigorously, and successfully entering upon the plan of colonization?

Thus far, I have, I trust, fairly removed every objection which has been urged to the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians. I shall now consider what appear

to me something like obstacles. The most formidable of these, is the peculiar turn of mind and feelings of the East Indians themselves. I verily believe, that scarcely a single individual of that body would hesitate a moment to colonize the country, if they could command the means of purchasing estates, that would yield such sums, as would place it in their power to maintain the rank of gentlemen-farmers, whilst scarcely fifty would step forward, in the absence of that ability, to enter upon the occupation of downright farmers ; drive their oxen before them ; dig their land ; manufacture their indispensable furniture ; churn their butter, &c. Circumstances, in some measure, it is allowed, oblige them to choose the employment of the copyist. The laborious, though variegated and independent, life of the farmer, does not seem to hold forth such allurements to their confined views, as driving their goose-quills eternally in the capacity of mercenaries. They are not, it is to be feared, given to meditate upon the circumstance, that the occupation of a sedentary transcriber, has, more than any things else, a direct tendency to undermine a man's valuable constitution, an

effect, which, though it be not immediately perceptible to himself, is most certainly seen by others, and felt by his offspring, who are, therefore, progressively degenerating in those active qualities, the absence of which so prominently strikes our notice in the characters of the pusillanimous aborigines. Our *writers* ought to be well aware, that they, by no means, escape reaping the *fruits* of a field ploughed with goose-quills. Will they not admit, that they have found themselves more pulled down by labour at the desk of only a few hours in a day, than when they have occupied themselves in a more robust or active work? Let them only take the trouble to trace the present effects of the inactive and dull lives they lead, and they will find it an easy matter to detect the causes, not only of their being obliged to use spectacles before they regard themselves old men, but of all that debility of their system which reduces them to the unpleasant alternative of applying for pensions. Of what use are they to society afterwards? Instead of flourishing in the meridian of their powers, at forty, behold them creeping through life, as if fit for nothing but to be shortly tumbled into their ready

graves, and all further remembrance of them obliterated by a premature tomb! An individual of this description has the whole of his energies exercised, or rather bartered, for a scanty pension. Society has nothing more to do with him, and he is a living monument of the unwholesome propensity to scribbling for money! After his departure from a world of so much folly, what becomes of those who have been committed to his care, not to be prematurely abandoned to inevitable wretchedness, but to be put in the way of proving serviceable to the community, and along with that, to themselves? What a killing reflection must there not be produced in the minds of those who have wasted their time in an occupation to which they had no other reasons to devote themselves but what consist in the turn of their feelings, and the nature of their sentiments respecting those pursuits and vocations of life, which, by other nations are thought to be most desirable and honourable, when they come to be laid on the bed of death, surrounded by those unoffending creatures whom they had been the instruments of bringing into the world, and are about to

leave, the deserted victims of pitiable pride and indolence, in a place, of which the doors to prosperity are barred against them, and beyond which there is indeed nothing more than a *probable* pension of a paltry pittance! Is not such a spectacle almost daily witnessed in the metropolis of Bengal? Is not the prospect getting more gloomy apace? And who can sum up the approaching evil?

The farmer draws his nourishment from the very bosom of nature, and not, after her fruits have undergone changes by passing through fifty different channels. In plainer language,—the nature of the circumstances connected with his industrious line of life is such, that it not only preserves his constitution from untimely decay, but removes him at a comfortable distance from those scenes and localities which are impregnated with chagrin, and a thousand perplexities to which the powers of the copyist unduly fall a sacrifice. His field-labours tend to promote health, to which the salubrious air of the country, and the absence of a host of jarring emotions which exist in the city, combine to contribute. While the emaciated, spectre-like copyist of a teeming

city, at forty, totters through existence in quest of a precarious maintenance, and a scanty pension at last, the hale and sturdy farmer, at double that age seems to bloom; whom, while the snow of longevity marks out as a traveller to another world, the tokens of his being the initiated child of nature play upon his cheerful visage; his firm gait indicates further laborious properties, and his unclouded countenance exhibits the badge which independence loves to bestow upon those who court her influence, while his bony members declare that they could yet make the earth yield her increase, and the fleecy flocks their tribute! Far removed from the contaminating effects of the haunts of those who infect even the air with discontent, and who dissipate their lives for they know not what, he inhales the salubrious breeze of the enlivening fields, which, as they shake the golden harvest that his hands have reared around his rural abode, waft serenity towards his breast, and the smile of satisfaction plays on every dear face that surrounds him. This our bards knew, and made their ready muses to pour forth their enraptured lays in the celebration of it;—but when and where have they

thought it worth their pains to sing an ode to the scribe*? There must be something at the bottom of the propensity to scribbling for money, which we find so universally carrying every thing before it in the metropolis of British India. My singular business is to endeavour to clear the way of colonization; and as the East Indians' gaining their precarious morsel chiefly by following the profession of clerks, appears to be a serious impediment to it, every means must be used to remove it. I will therefore trace it to its very source, and point out how it originates, and how it eventually, and almost irresistibly destroys the common impulse which every man receives from nature to

* It seems this assertion must be retracted; for at length, some friends of the *writer caste*, named William and Mary Howitt, (which by the way, is somewhat awkward; for if our Marys, and Anns, and Kittys turn advocates for the pen against us, we must soon give up our cause as hopeless,) have thought proper to honour the eternally scribbling instrument of our worthy tribe of writers with—shall we call it an ode, or elegy, or what? for we confess ourselves to be so little versed in the art of manufacturing 'airy nothings' into 'local habitations', that we might as well attempt to trace their *lineal* descent from 'the man in the moon,' as to tell what this exquisite piece of homage to THE PEN is.—After all, it may not be improperly called, *merely a few stanzas*: but whatever it is, and such as it is, the reader may see it in the Eclectic Review for July 1827; and those who think themselves honoured by this signalization of the 'arrow of their secret will' are quite welcome to triumph at it: for our parts, we would have thought it a greater service done to us, if it had been altogether withheld from the public.

help himself. But perhaps this superior satisfaction is reserved for some one more potent in talents, and possessing withal more genuine philanthropy, more persuasive command of words and wisdom, more fertility of thought, and purity of diction, than Addison himself possessed, who by means of black and white secured the merit of having reformed an age of folly. So be it. My object will be answered thereby; and when it is accomplished, whoever may be the favoured instrument, the devoted friend to colonization might well clap his hands for joy, even then when India shall no longer blush for the children of *her old age*!

It can hardly have failed to strike the attentive mind, that the disposition to which I allude, seems to originate in the circumstances of the birth of the East Indians, their parentage and education, and the sphere in which they move, and the singular constitution of the government under the sway of which they have been placed. The majority of the present generation are either the immediate offspring of Europeans, or of their children. The chief, and probably, the only object of the peregrination of Europeans in this prolific country, is, with a

solitary exception or two, the acquisition of fortunes, with a view to its enjoyment on their return to their native land. All their pursuits are confined within this contracted bound. Every undertaking has direct reference to this; and every faculty, fully and most actively, is exercised to attain it. India is not their birthplace, its genuine sons are not their kindred, and its graves (if such a supposition will be allowed) are not to be opened for the reception of their bodies. What is India to them, and they to India, beyond the securing of pecuniary independence, or more than a counting-house? what more than a mart of lucre, to which they resort, acquire their darling lacks, and anon spread out the sails, and turn the helms of their Arguses towards their respective transatlantic regions, which, most fortunately for India, rejoice in their successful returning people. But when the shores of this country are distanced, the good of the land, with all its wonders, is consigned to forgetfulness!

The illegitimate children of these, are necessarily abandoned to their doubtful fortunes, in the country which was the fruitful soil of their parents' prosperity. It would

appear, that they could not have been committed to a better place ; but they are left with their hands and feet manacled ! They do not perish, it is true ; and many of them are helped to find their way to England to receive an English education ; where they not only receive that, but over and above acquire a set of thoughts (their nursery having had the effect of purgatory to destroy Asiatic ones) more congenial to occidental than oriental affairs. There, as they secure the rudiments of learning, and associate with beings who are not in the slightest degree interested in the concerns of that country to which our education-hunters must inevitably return, and which will be the only place of their future abode and field of labour,—there, I say, by a common operation of sentiments and adventitious circumstances, they imbibe a censurable indifference for the place of their nativity. On their return to India, they find the tone of public feeling so very heterogeneous, and the state of things so very different from that which they had lately quitted, and their prospects of temporal prosperity so beclouded, that the first springs of youthful ardour receive a blow so irrecoverable, though not fatal, as checks

and damps, and effectually cripples the energies of their minds. They seem to be petrified with the sudden turn given to their ideas and feelings : their plans and pursuits all at once become so different from what they had been habituated to, that they must instantaneously look upon themselves as greater strangers in their own country than where they went to have their minds enlightened, and their principles qualified. As they are not by degrees prepared for the unavoidable transition, they are plunged in the midst of insurmountable obstacles to whatever they propose to adopt and pursue, on the violent spur of the moment, as a means of gaining a livelihood, and ultimately of securing a fortune. If they have the boast of competency, they for a time maintain that independence of spirit which has been implanted in their minds, in a land where liberty floats in the ambient air ; but as money thus wasted makes daily a wider and wider rent in their purses, the remainder soon makes wings to itself, and flies past recall. Penury and disgrace now begin to make their unpleasant appearance, and haunt their confused minds almost to desperation ; and though with a nameless im-

prudence, they launch into debt, and thereby contrive to sport out a retrograding character a little longer; the period at length arrives when all is at an end, and they are at a dead stand. Now conceive what they can do in such a critical juncture. At whichever door they knock, the echo of disappointment causes their fainting bosom to thrill with woes. In some this naturally enough proves a fatal overthrow of hope, and with it a total wreck of probity and honesty! Their perturbed minds wander away from the pleasant and safe path of rectitude. We have watched their footsteps, and found them drowning their woes in the pernicious bowl. The last stage of their wretched progress is an untimely grave, which (awful thought!) completes the loss of both worlds. Others retain their notions of honour, which enables them to take a somewhat more steady survey of the appalling scene. They find it necessary to come to the determination of turning scribes, or perish through hunger, or rot in the big depôt of misery which lies at the end of the gay Course at the southern extremity of the city. Principle actuates them to resort to the public offices, in which they remain

swelling with vexation, racked perpetually with disappointed hopes; baffled schemes; and thwarted purposes; exposed to the piercing contumely of the great; harassed with fears; while their heart-strings are ready to break to pieces at the forebodings of what will ere long come upon their poor unoffending and unprovided-for families, when the king of terrors shall knock at their doors, and call the *hope* of their dear ones to the burying-ground! If “care” will “make a young man grow gray,” here is more than sufficient to produce such an effect, and, I add, to “turn him ere long into clay” likewise. But I have run through the tragedy a little too rapidly; for it should have been related, that long before so doleful a termination of their mortal career, they perceive themselves the members of a society totally unlike the one in which they had very probably fondly cherished a hope of having abundant opportunities of moving, and perhaps cutting a conspicuous figure, on their arrival in the country. In this curious circle they encounter opinions, that partake of a ridiculous admixture of half European and half Asiatic dissipation without genuine cordiality; ostentation without re-

putation ; emulation without capacity ; plans without resources ; and assumption without gentility. They must, notwithstanding all these, take up with it, or become exiles in the heart of an overflowing metropolis ; or they must prepare to return to the country from which they had a little while ago embarked with all the pride of an English education. This, however, they no longer can command the means of doing, and there, according to the Indian proverb, “a blind uncle is better than no uncle at all,” they must prefer that which they cannot help choosing. What creates that unhappy state of mind, which prevents the introduction of nobler sentiments is, as has been very properly observed by some, the society individuals move in, or the books they are wont to pore over. Every street is beset with crowds of writers, and there is scarcely a house one goes to, but where one, or two, or more, are to be seen ; and probably talking about the events transpiring in the offices, which is their most usual topic of conversation ; and otherwise their conversation consists of nothing but writing and writers, desks and drawers, half margins and whole margins, sections and selections, salaries and

pensions, in so much that one would imagine our East Indians to have got into an element totally impregnated with pen, ink, and paper ; and that they are become their meat and drink, and comfort too. I do not mean to say, that such a thing is an anomaly ; for it is certain, that in like manner, the followers of every other profession are wont to have their minds engrossed with the things and circumstances most familiar to them. In process of time, their habits grow upon them, especially where necessity cuts off every chance of a successful result to their pursuits. They have not the privilege of choosing their associates. The higher circles are not accessible to them, and when they are, it is attended with circumstances which in a very short time compel them to shun them with feelings of utter dissatisfaction and mortification. On the other hand, their ideas of superiority over the aborigines, whose mean practices, and vulgar, not to say obscene deportment, cause them to shrink away with disgust from their company. They retain the remnant of independence of mind, while the natives glory in despicable subserviency : they stifle the groan of dependence, but these thrive in servitude.

Such of the East Indians as never left their native country, enter the world with a somewhat different feeling : they have from their earliest infancy, been familiarized with the circumstances that strike the comers from abroad with embarrassing novelty, and are not, consequently, affected in the same proportion. They are, in some degree, reconciled to their condition ; yet I cannot, on the whole, pronounce their case to be very different from that of the others. Both feel in an equal degree what it is to be a mere cipher in their own country ; to be curbed in their career, to be circumscribed in their wishes, and to suffer indescribable hardships, which are produced by various inauspicious circumstances. Their minds being enervated in the very dawn of reason, and resisted in their native scope, are so effectually unhinged as to render it problematical, whether they can be restored to that tone which is requisite to enable them to endeavour to appear in a more hopeful character than their present exhibits to our view.

Giving due weight to these considerations, it will be allowed, that the propensity I have been describing, or rather have

been endeavouring to account for, originates in the circumstances mentioned ; in their birth, parentage, and education ; the sphere in which they move, and the peculiar constitution of the government under the sway of which they are placed. The fact, that the East-Indians have not been able to go beyond the metropolis, demands pity rather than censure ; for what could they do otherwise ? They were, and thousands of them to this very moment are, in every respect, ignorant of the resources of the interior. They had none who thought it worth his while, or to whom it ever occurred, to prevail upon them to spread themselves to the right and left ; none to show them the facilities they could command to secure independence. They never imagined they could do without Calcutta, and pen, ink, and paper. It never entered into their heads, that colonization could be effected, or that the effecting of it would do them any real good : nay, to such a degree ~~was~~ their minds been, and are even now, led to the affairs of the city, and to an extent did, and does, their false of respectability and degradation that it would perhaps have been

looked upon as an unpardonable affront to have advised them to attempt any thing that would have placed them on a level with the aborigines, and on which they could not enter but as common labourers, though it would most assuredly have been attended with beneficial consequences. They were in the dark respecting the fascinations of a rural life : how then could they love a thing which they were never afforded the means of beholding even in prospect? How could they perceive that there was any thing desirable in colonization? The present moment, and the present moment only, was sought to be provided for. Lulled to repose in the arms of ignorance, they suffered their best energies to be sapped, and their brightest prospects to be marred. Held under its firm grasp, they suffered themselves to be led to the refuse of all things, and were made to gnaw the husks of their transcribing trough. In this they not only centred the hopes of their future prosperity, but thought there was nothing else, to all appearance, besides what *that* could promise. To this they likewise taught, and to this hour teach, their little ones to aspire. In short (with a very few exceptions) this

is the *pleasant* line of demarkation, beyond which they *cannot*, nay, they *will not pass*. This is the maximum of their best wishes ; and it is worthy of observation, with what intense emulation the present and the rising generation press on to come within this confined latitude ! The bruit of a vacancy flashes forward like the coruscations of the Aurora Borealis,—is reiterated by a thousand voices, and vibrates through a thousand bosoms. Scarcely has the vacating scribe breathed his last, and a hundred hungry candidates are in active motion ; and applications for his *place* are peppered upon him at whose disposal it happens to be. A hundred offices are troubled at the sound, and the inmates use their diligence to pop into a snug birth, as it is called. A vacancy ! The hum of a bee could not convey a sweeter hope. To such a pass (*O tempora !*) have things been brought,—and what lies beyond it ought to be seriously pondered by the East Indians. But for all this, the East Indians, I say again, are more to be pitied than censured ; but it will be their fault if they any longer confine themselves within their present narrow limits. It is my earnest advice, that they should betake

themselves to colonization, forsaking their desks for ploughs, and the city for the country.

The peculiarities of the regulations of the British India Government, cannot justly be termed an impediment to the colonization of the country by East Indians. It is not my province, nor is it necessary, to depreciate or extol them; but it must be mentioned, that those laws, most fortunately, do not provide against the plan I have proposed for the amelioration of the cheerless prospects of the East Indians. Those laws place them nearly on an equal footing, with the aborigines, which is nothing more than perfect justice. It is worthy of the exalted name of Englishmen. It might be made to appear, that in some very minor points, they lean towards the aborigines; but on the whole, the scales will evidently preponderate in favour of the East Indians, if the subject be maturely considered*. The

* There is a remark in the 1st No. of the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India (p. 68) on this subject, which must have appeared somewhat curious to its readers, coming, as it does, from a quarter where it could have least been expected: we refer to the following. "It is a fact, that, in case of intrigue or injury, it is in most cases easier for a native to obtain justice against a European, than a European to obtain redress, if insulted or wronged by a native. This circumstance, attended as it may be with some inconvenience, reflects

summum bonum, however, is left without flaw or fetter. The regulations do not prohibit the East Indians' cultivating their native soil; and the East Indians, it seems, are little aware of the gratitude which such a circumstance should produce in their minds, and of which the best proof they can afford is the availing themselves of the opening left them for the exercise of their energies to the advancement of their highest interest. They should lift up their eyes to heaven, and bless the overruling power of the Almighty! It is a precious boon: yes, far more so than the late concession made as to their eligibility to sit on juries. So far, therefore, from considering the existing enactments as detriments, they ought to be hailed as the most valuable auxiliaries to colonization.

the highest honour on the British name." Ergo, *the difficulty which an Englishman experiences in obtaining redress against a native, when insulted or wronged, reflects the highest honour on the British name!*—and "a fact, of which," it is added, "India affords almost the first instance on record in the annals of history;" and of which, we may further add, the Editors of the *Friend of India* are the first recorders! Be it so. The reader will perceive, that the writer of this Essay only says, that the Government's placing the East Indians on the same footing with the aborigines, is worthy of the exalted name of Englishmen. The inequalities or political partialities, if they will be so called, to which the writer alludes, it is hoped, will, in time, be removed.—*Editor.*

The placing of the East Indians on an equality with the aborigines, cannot, in any point of view, be construed as an impediment to the execution of the plan proposed for their adoption. If it be granted, that there are defects in the administration of the laws, it must, at the same time, be allowed, that the aborigines are by no means exempt from the effects of them. But they are defects which are not peculiar to the judicial administration of India. They are easily described, but never remedied ; and as the governing men are not angels in India, they are naturally expected here as well as any where else. We should not hope for purer men here than we meet with in other more civilized countries. Time only can and may mend the defects ; but there is not the slightest reason why the East Indians should wait for such a reformation, and not immediately undertake what, as we have already observed, is left unbindered by the laws of the country.

We have in a former part of this Essay observed, that although the aborigines are endeavouring to engross all yet unoccupied lands, cultivated or uncultivated, there are still immense tracts ~~unoccupied~~, and easily

procurable, either by purchase or on long leases. Any objections, therefore, on this score, need scarcely be further noticed. We may, however, add, with a view of setting forth the subject in the clearest light possible, that several East Indians are the avowed and legitimate proprietors of extensive Talooks or Zumeendarees. Others again have large Indigo Concerns ; and many more have ample means of becoming respectable landholders. Were they to lay out a few thousands towards the purchase of immovable property in the Mofussil, how easily, and at what an insignificant price, could they put it within the reach of their less favoured fellow countrymen to enter upon agricultural pursuits, and, at the same time, be the greatest gainers by it themselves ! What praise would be theirs ! But I am certain, that lands to almost any extent could be obtained from the native Zumeendars in any part of Hindobsthan, into which immigration or ingress is not expressly interdicted. A commencement would, at any rate, be immediately made. I could point out vast portions of uncultivated land, which invite trial ; and the tilling of which, whilst it would answer the purposes of the colonists, would

tend to the benefit of the proprietors, as well as to bring in considerable revenue to Government in process of time. It is not to be expected, (nor would it be at all prudent,) that the East Indians should rise up in a body, pack up their moveables, and immigrate into the interior. The work must be gradual. Indeed I have much reason to fear, that a very few of them only would be able to exercise self-denial enough to put up with the occupation of downright farmers immediately; yet one or two hundred families might come forward, who could be forthwith accommodated with a sufficiency of lands in any part of Bengal, and the central provinces. One question would still, however, remain to be decided. Supposing a hundred candidates for colonization started up at once, what would be the best mode of commencing the prosecution of their design? I shall throw out a few hints, by way of developing a plan, which, I think, might be adopted with success; but let the reader judge for himself how far it is practicable.

In the first place, a meeting of those East Indians whose minds may be impressed with the utility of affording facility to the

plan of colonization should be convened. I do not think it would be taking too much upon myself to say, that many will be found who would embrace the object with cordiality. Every thing else of a temporary nature might be treated with indifference by East Indians, but *this* could not. The first object of the meeting should be to select a number of proper persons to form a Committee of Management, whose business, in the first instance, would be, to raise about 8 or 10 thousand rupees or more, which, I have every reason to believe, they could with very little difficulty accomplish. Objects of much less moment meet with the readiest encouragement, and will one of such consequence be slighted? Foreigners and the aborigines *may* not be found amongst the foremost to aid the cause, but doubtless there will be found East Indians who would most cheerfully bestow their assistance to the utmost of their power. This I am naturally led to hope, not only from the circumstance of their best interest being intimately associated with the success of the objects of the Committee who may be appointed; but from conversations, which I

have had with several persons, both **East Indians*** and **Europeans**, who have expressed their earnest wish, that the **East Indians** would turn their attention to agricultural and such other pursuits. Every motive that is interesting and powerful calls upon them to appear now, in order to promote the welfare of their countrymen. The next business of the Committee should be to collect information on every point connected with the future work of the colonists, which may suggest itself to them; and to invite those who may be disposed to enter upon it. Supposing that only 20 candidates for colonization were to offer themselves, though it is possible more would come forward, it will be then necessary for the Committee to look out for a sufficient quantity of land to set them up. If the mere matter of support be considered, 30 beeghas would be more than enough for each; but as my plan embraces a wider latitude, it would be requisite to allow them 100 beeghas each; so that 2000

* I take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude to several persons who have interested themselves much in the publication of this Essay; but especially to the gentleman at Furrookhabad, who has exceeded my expectation, and by whose remarks on the subject I was extremely gratified. I hope he will not fail to make his suggestions on the plan of this Essay, when he reads it, and send them to me through the same channel through which I received his first communication.

beeghas should be taken up at the very onset. And supposing that adequate means could not be immediately realized for the *purchase* of an estate of that extent, however small the amount of purchase might be, it may be *rented*, and in that case, the annual *juma* per beegha should not exceed one rupee*, which would render the Committee answerable (they would not have to pay more than six months rent, as I shall presently show) for the payment of 2000 rupees at the end of the year. The support of the 20 individuals will in the next place require to be attended to. Supposing we allow six months to enable them to settle themselves. During these six months they could not only put their lands in a proper train of cultivation, but the first crop of rice would be by that time in a state of forwardness. If they entered upon their labours in the month of February, we might allow two months for the constructing of comfortable houses for themselves. While this was going on, they could plough up a bee-

* I could point out certain parts of the country where two or three beeghas could be had for 1 Rupee. Should my hopes be realized and a Committee formed for the purpose of setting on foot colonization, I shall be happy to furnish them with every information in my power, on such points as they may wish to know.

gha of ground each, and get up a variety of vegetables for immediate use ; but as they could not very likely make a shift to live under temporary sheds, while their houses are building, (though it is not impossible,) we shall allow the two months to expire without any other sort of work : during this time, however, as the buildings would be raised under the direction of the Committee, they would not of course require to be supported by them. The Committee might depute one of their own number, or one of the candidates who is a single man, and might be willing to superintend the erections personally, or a native under security, to do it. He should be an active man, and recommended by some gentleman well acquainted with him. This would not, however, be an object of much difficulty to accomplish. As soon as the houses are ready, which ought to be before the 1st of April, the colonists should enter upon their labours, and proceed to cultivate such things as relate to immediate convenience, as observed above ;—sow their vegetables, and make themselves in other respects comfortable. The getting up of one or two beeghas of vegetables need not take

up more than ten days at the farthest ; but we will allow a whole month for that purpose. After this, they should throw out their energies to prepare their lands against the season of sowing rice (paddy). The lands should be ploughed over and over again, and manured plentifully. The dung of the cattle they should be furnished with, will suffice for that purpose. The first crop of rice would be gathered in September ; by which time their poultry, &c. will have swelled up to a multitude by proper management, which they need not touch before that period, as I would propose that the Committee afford them the means of sustenance*. After their first crop has been barned, further support from the Committee should cease altogether ; in case of failure, the Committee might furnish them with rice sufficient to last till the ingathering of the first crop of the next year, which, if any surplus be left from the sum collected in the first instance, they might purchase with it : should none be left, they might make a fresh

* To prevent the invasion of jackalls, and other destructive animals, sufficient ground should be surrounded with *Kunchees*, limbs of bamboos, or some such material, for the poultry, &c. to remain confined there during the day, and covered with the same materials, to secure the chickens, goslings, &c. from kites.

application to the friends of colonization for further assistance, of which a very trifling portion would now be required from each individual to meet the exigency. They might either do this, or allow the colonists three or four rupees more in addition to what I shall presently recommend to be granted to them per month. I am decidedly of opinion, that each individual farmer, with a moderate family, could be comfortably supported by an allowance of 16 rupees per month; but they may be allowed 20 rupees each. Let not the small sum, as it is in appearance, have any discouraging or dissuading effects on the minds of the candidates; for let them remember, that though they might earn more than double that amount in Calcutta, yet if they sit down and make a calculation, they will find, that their residence in it runs away with the best part of their salaries, and that they really do not consume more food than would amply be procured for 12 rupees per month. House-rent, servants' wages, doctor's bills, vegetables, fish, poultry, mutton, beef or pork, fruits, and a variety of other useful nick-nacks, taken together, make such a rent in their salaries as

to ensure the expenditure of the whole and more per month. But if they become farmers, all those articles would be provided for by 16 rupees, in a line of life where the labour of their hands would prevent their laying out ready money on almost any thing, if they are industrious. But more of this in its proper place.

To carry on my calculation. It is plain the colonists would require to be supported for six months ; allowing, therefore, 20 rupees to each, it would come to 2,400 rupees. The erection of comfortable houses (which should have mud walls) at 100 rupees each, would cost 2000 rupees more. We must make a further allowance for the purchase of cattle, poultry, &c. Each colonist may have one pair of plough oxen, one ox for the oil-mill, and two milch cows ; all which I reckon at 680 rupees ; add to which rupees 1120 for the purchase of poultry, pigs, sheep, and farming utensils, making a total of rupees 2400, and a grand total of 6800 rupees. The following table will exhibit the matter of expenses more clearly.

TABLE OF EXPENDITURE.

Erection of 20 Houses at 100 Rs. each,	2000
Provisions for 6 months for the Colonists, at 20 Rupees per month,	2400
40 Pairs of Plough Oxen at 16 Rs. per pair,	640
20 Oxen for Oil-Mills, at 12 Rs. each,	240
40 Milch Cows, at 10 Rs. each,	400
Poultry, &c. 56 Rs. to each colonist,	1120
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 2400

Total, Sa. Rs. 6800

If 10,000 rupees could be raised, it would not only meet the above expenses, but every other expense which it might be necessary to incur at the outset. I shall be permitted to repeat my conviction, that an object like this would meet with much more encouragement, than I have thought it requisite to assume, for the sake of instituting a probable calculation of the expenditure that might be incurred in the attempt to put in execution the plan of colonization I have recommended.

It will probably be asked, How will it be possible for one individual to manage 100 beeghas of ground single handed, and that

with only two pairs of oxen? In order to obviate this difficulty, I must introduce the second part of my plan, which is, that each individual should be allowed the assistance of three or four apprentice-boys, and as many girls, for a period not exceeding seven years, and not less than six. By the help of these, he could very well manage 100 beegahs of land. As to the ploughing of that extent of land with only two pairs of oxen, it would not be deemed preposterous, if the colonists were to form themselves into five parties: each party could plough the land of each individual, compassing it alternately, very successfully. This, and also planting and weeding, are very frequently effected by the natives in a similar manner. Before the expiration of the term for which the apprentices may be bound, others might be procured. The first batch having been brought up as farmers, and having become adepts in the details of the agricultural life, and become acquainted with the state of the neighbouring country, could easily procure lands for themselves. If they have recommended themselves to their employers, it would not be a difficult matter to prevail upon them to advance them a small sum of money to build habitations,

and purchase a small stock for themselves. It would be as well for the Committee to make an agreement previously with the colonists, to furnish their apprentices with plough-oxen and a sufficient stock of poultry, &c. gratuitously, at the time of their discharge. This is, however, a by-the-way suggestion, which the Committee may or may not adopt, as they please: at least, they will be able to improve upon these scattered hints, and shape out for their management a plan more perfect in every respect—a thing which it would be impossible for me to attempt just now, without more time and consideration. But I must pass on to observe:—The necessity of uniting female apprentices with male ones will appear evident when we come to consider, that the latter will require partners when they set up for themselves; and where should they go for them? Very few indeed could be found who would even make tolerable wives for farmers, and fewer still would be willing to become such. But six or seven years apprenticeship will not only have accustomed them to such a life, but will have made them mistresses of the art of managing such branches of a farmer's do-

domestic affairs, as in a particular manner belong to the female sex*.

It is true, that besides the first outlay, as we have already stated, the Committee will be answerable for the rent of the lands; but they will only be obliged to pay for two quarters, which would be refunded by the colonists when their first crop was gathered. Moreover, the colonists should be bound to discharge the whole amount expended in establishing them; but of course convenient time should be allowed for the purpose.

In a foregoing place I have remarked, that there would be no necessity for the East Indian colonists to labour in the open air during the heat of the day. This arrangement would give them the command of a very valuable portion of their time. They could employ themselves with their apprentices in weaving, and manufacturing various articles, such as oil, sugar, tobacco, candles, cheese, shoes, ropes, &c. &c.; but chiefly those, the materials of which they

* It would not be undesirable for our colonists to take in one or two fresh apprentices every year; and as they worked out their time, there would be a constant succession of cultivators thrown into the country, who receiving apprentices or coadjutors, would contribute to the speedy formation of little villages, and thus colonization would be carried on expeditiously.

shall have reared on their own lands. Surely it would not be too much to expect, that they could discharge the Committee's debt from emoluments acquired by attending to these and various other handicrafts during the hours of relaxation from the more sturdy labours of the field. If their fields, kitchen-gardens, ponds, poultry, and cattle yielded them a sufficiency, and more, than a sufficiency of means of independent support, what else they earned by their manufactures, would enable them to testify their gratitude to their benefactors by the tender, at least, of what had been expended to lay the foundation of their future prosperity. But this is a circumstance on which I would not lay much stress; the state of things, as it may turn out, when they have actually set about to operate—the conditions on which they might possibly be able to procure persons to commence the work of colonization—and various other considerations, render it impossible to decide this point just now with precision. Supposing, however, it were found possible to recover the money originally laid out by the Committee, it could be laid out again, in making six months provision, as before, for the apprentices who may have

served out their time under the colonists, and wish to set up for themselves, as well as in helping fresh colonists. Measures might be adopted to receive, and dispose of the articles manufactured by the colonists, under the direction of the Committee, towards the liquidation of their respective debts. Each colonist would have to discharge a debt of only little more than 250 rupees, which they ought very conveniently to be able to do in the space of three years, which would only be 32 rupees odd annas per annum. But I am of opinion, that they could pay the whole off in the second year. I may observe here, that though the plan I have suggested requires the outlay of some money, it will be found in the end that success will have depended on the labours of the colonists, to the great honour and rejoicing of their benefactors, and the incalculable good of the East Indians.

It will be readily asked, But where are the apprentices to come from? I would reply, even thence, whence the colonists would be forthcoming. If these could be found, we may not despair of meeting with more apprentices than we could know what to do with. The Charity Schools team with

youngsters, who I imagine, would not be
 reluctantly made over to our Committee.
 But I will not be such a dotard as to call
 nly plan an infallible one, or suppose that
 it is not susceptible of improvement. Let
 our Committee once be embodied, and fea-
 sible plans will not be long in coming for-
 ward. It is a scheme, and will require
 proper deliberation before it be acted upon;
 but it would border on folly to say, that co-
 lonization could not be effected at all. If
 the *Calcutta Apprenticing Society* has met
 with success, though the present features
 of their plans do not appear very conducive
 to it, the plan of colonization cannot possi-
 bly fail. If things have been brought to such
 an extremity, that people give their children
 to be brought up to the seafaring life—a life
 which in addition to the hazards to which it
 exposes those who enter it, cannot be pro-
 nounced to be the most cleanly in its subor-
 dinate branches, and beyond which, the
 marine apprentices have very little ground
 to hope to aspire, would there, under such
 circumstances, be less than the highest de-
 gree of probability to affirm, that coloniza-
 tion only needs to be proposed in order to
 be embraced? But it will, it must succeed,

if the attention of the East Indians be once faithfully and seriously directed to it. The philanthropic motives of the Apprenticing Society must be justly applauded, and in the absence of any more promising field, its objects should be cordially promoted ; and, as I have reasons to believe it would not be disinclined to help colonization, especially as the plan here proposed embraces the trades likewise, its co-operation should be cultivated. The Agricultural Society too would be a valuable auxiliary, and to which I would humbly beg leave to propose the introduction of hops and tea into this country, if practicable, in preference to *fruits*. Their patronizing the improvement of European culinary vegetables is worthy of their benevolent views, and will succeed to a very great extent. I have some doubts, however, as to the success of the fruits they are cultivating, because the lower parts of Bengal will prove uncongenial to their improvement, if they produce tolerable fruits at all. In the *higher* parts, most European fruits are to be plentifully met with. I have partaken of as good *peaches*, and *golden-pippin apples* in the Dukkhun as any European could wish to masticate. In

Lucknow and other places higher, a variety of excellent European fruits are to be met with in abundance. But their introduction into Bengal has invariably failed. It appears to me, that it would be well worth the Society's attention to endeavour to improve some of the indigenous fruits and vegetables of India; such as the mango (than which there is not, I suppose, a better fruit in the universe,) the pineapple, plantain, &c. I should recommend the mangoes to be imported from Goa—those which are called the 'Alphonso mangoes:' mangosteens should not be forgotten.

I cannot leave this part of the subject without expressing the hope, that I have said enough to convince the most fastidious caviller, that most of the objections stated and reiterated against colonization are groundless; and that those which may be considered obstacles, are not such as are insurmountable. I have shown that the climate of India is no objection to it; that a competition, a successful competition, with the aborigines is perfectly feasible*; that the regulations of the British Indian Govern-

* What I have to say more on this subject, I have reserved for another chapter.

ment do not prohibit it; that sufficient ground could be obtained for the purpose; and that the only hinderance to it lies in the present disposition of the East Indians, the origin and progress of which I have briefly attempted to trace, and of the ultimate consequences of which I would warn them. I am not aware of any other objections of sufficient weight which require answer. I shall, therefore, dismiss this part of my essay with one word of advice to those who may be impressed with the necessity of undertaking colonization;—that they should lose no time to set about it. The prospects before them are of the most cheering nature. They should call to mind the time which has been suffered to pass away without any such efforts to ameliorate their present condition, which requires to be redeemed; and the time that is before them *may* not (though I do not say it will not) admit of sufficient trial. The time *may* come soon, when they will perhaps see the country wrested (which God forbid!) from the hands of the present powers, when they (the East Indians) being unpossessed of the only sufficient motive to rise in their defence, it may be lost for ever to all the best of purposes!

THE ADVANTAGES OF COLONIZATION.



AFTER pointing out the *necessity* and *practicability* of the colonization of Hindoosthan by East Indians, I proposed to exhibit the advantages of it; but after what has been already said in the preceding pages, much of which must naturally have borne on the point now under consideration, and suggested many ideas of advantages to the reader's mind, little needs to be said further. In this chapter, therefore, after evincing, as briefly as possible, a very few of the numerous advantages which will result from the undertaking here recommended, I design showing somewhat more largely the advantages which the East Indians will be able to command over their aboriginal competitors. This point, it may be thought by some, ought to have most properly come under the preceding chapter, where I have attempted, in a few words, to show the possibility of the East Indians reducing their expenses to the extreme economical principles of the aborigines. It will be recollected by the attentive reader, that there I en-

deavoured to present him with some account of the manner in which the lower classes of the aboriginal agriculturists managed their affairs, and to expose the unfounded nature of the assertion, that they live upon three rupees per month. What I mean to advance, under the head here specified, will chiefly embrace such considerations as tend to demonstrate the perfect feasibility of the East Indians, not only maintaining a successful competition with the aborigines, but also commanding a variety of advantages which will place them on a superior footing. More of this, however, in its proper place.

The true nature of education is strangely misconceived by many : some have no idea of it, but what consists only in mental qualifications ; others only in moral ; whilst others again, only in the initiation into some of the useful or ornamental arts. It never occurs to them, that it might, perhaps, be an improvement upon their notion, to attempt a combination, in the nearest possible proportion of which the subject of it might be capable, of each of them, although the defects so palpably observable in the case of those unhappy individuals, upon whom

their different systems have been tried, might have been expected to have taught them better. It seldom seems to enter into the views of these men, that man is a compound of physical, mental, and moral parts ; that each of these parts severally and collectively stands in need of much improvement, and constant employment through life, to keep them in due order and temperament, and to conduce to that state, which, next to the higher end of his being, “ the glory of his Maker,” claims most properly his greatest attention ; and that unless each of these parts is disciplined by proper and useful exercises from the earliest stage of their existence which will admit of them, they will degenerate, by taking their natural course. The impolicy, not to use any harsher term, of confining the attention to any one of these component parts of man, to the neglect of the rest, must be obvious to those who have at all studied human nature. Our constitution is such, as to be susceptible, on the one hand, of improvement, by instruction, discipline, and exercise, and, on the other, of degeneracy, imbecility, and enervation, by neglect and idleness ; like iron, which by being cleaned shines more and

more ; but being neglected, becomes rusty, The mind, the heart, and the body, are all the subjects of these different properties ; each requires to be always exercised and kept in order, and each, in proportion as it is attended to or neglected, adds to or detracts from the enjoyments of life.

It was a useful maxim among the Jews, whose canons required, that all parents should teach their children some trade, that he who did not instruct his son in one made him a rogue. Hence it is well known, that the education of their children always included the knowledge of one or more of the arts. Of our Saviour the Jews relate that he made *rakes* and *yokes* ; of Paul we know from the New Testament that he made tents ; and the same we learn from very good authorities, of several of their rabbies, who were surnamed shoemakers, bakers, &c. The Grand Seignior, to whom Paul Recaut was ambassador, was taught to make wooden spoons. On the benefits of such a plan of education it is necessary to enlarge here : something like this seems to be called for in the case of the East Indians, and we are glad to see exertions made to supply the deficiency ; witness the *Calcutta Ap-*

prenticing Society. We hope, the highly commendable spirit of enterprise and benevolence, which combined to call it forth into existence, and has hitherto countenanced and aided its useful operations, will be carried out beyond the limits of one single institution, and be displayed in the accomplishment of some such plan of ameliorating the condition of the East Indians, and making them more useful to the community to which they belong, to the country, and to the world at large, as is illustrated in these pages, which, by aiming to point out the advantages of pursuing agricultural and other mechanical arts, without excluding the sciences, may be allowed to be, in a great degree, calculated to ensure that end. It is not for a moment supposed by me, that a man entering on the occupation of a downright farmer, will be able to become a learned scholar ; he must, of course, be contented with a limited education. What, however, may it not be asked, is the present depth and extent of the learning of the body of East Indians ? Surely it measures very low and little ; but it is not absolutely necessary that our colonists should prescribe any given limits to

the literary acquirements of their children ; they may allow it as wide a range as their own leisure and the childrens' capacities and inclinations will suffer, without apprehending to make them worse workmen thereby*.

In a former part of this essay, I said something of the healthful and delightful nature of a farmer's occupation, and also of the injurious tendency of a mere copyist's avocation. In general, it may be remarked, that whatever employment places the body in a quiescent, or in any great degree, and for any length of time, in an inactive situation, has a tendency to affect the health. Physicians for this reason, have usually recommended to students much manual or bodily exercise ; and we read of Milton and others, who indulged themselves in various recreations by way of exercise to their bodies. One of them, if I recollect right, is said to have himself declared, when much advanced in age, and suffering the consequence of extreme studious habits, that he would gladly part with all the learning he had acquired in early life, by sitting

* For a more extended view of the subject, the reader is referred to Mr. Foster's valuable Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance.---Ed.

up late at study, if he could but recover his health. When the mind is intensely occupied with any thing, it causes a suspension of the animal functions, which weakens or relaxes their powers of action, and throws the system into disorder. Whilst this has been the case with almost every student of every country, it has been far otherwise with the farmers of every country. They are, according to universal acknowledgment, generally the most healthy, and, certainly, not the least useful, people of the countries to which they belong. “Luxury, avarice, injustice, violence, and ambition,” says Dr. Johnson, “take up their ordinary residence in populous cities; while the hard and laborious life of the husbandman will not admit of these vices. The honest farmer lives in a wise and happy state, which inclines him to justice, temperance, sobriety, sincerity, and every virtue that can dignify human nature.” These thoughts might be carried out to a great extent; but it would ill suit the limits of an essay, and considerations of another nature invite our attention. I proceed, therefore, to take a more general view of the question regarding the advantages of colonization.

The present feature of the country, in spite of its original inhabitants, is strangely barren, owing partly to mismanagement, and partly to the characteristic sluggishness of the people,—a people that will put their hands to nothing but what is immediately before them, and who labour without giving themselves the least trouble to think, whether any thing else might not be made to contribute more largely to their own benefit, and the improvement of the country. True, they are prospering, but it is at the expense of agriculture, which will sooner or later recoil upon them with interest. The rent of lands, on the other hand, is increasing astonishingly quick, while there is not a commensurate progression of improvement to counterbalance the inroads that are made upon their industry, miserable as it is. Forty years ago, the best lands did not pay for one beegha more than 8 or 12 annas *jumma* per annum, whereas these very lands now pay from three to four rupees for the same quantity; and, what is a notorious fact, they do not by any means yield so much as they did before. It may be affirmed with truth, that those of the aborigines who are prospering are a tax upon the rest: the rich are getting richer;

the poor turning poorer. In some districts, chiefly those of the eastern, there are hundreds of thousands of landed proprietors, who are, of course, independent, and not subject to increase of ground rent. This pleasing order of things generally affects the tranquillity of the poorer orders of people. Provisions there are not by far so dear as in other districts not thus circumstanced ; and though the inhabitants are not prospering, the few who are prospering, are not prospering, as in other quarters, at the expense of the poor. It could be no difficult matter to conceive here, that the body of the people would certainly prosper, if they could be prevailed upon to admit improvements in their present modes and implements of agriculture, which, as before shown, are extremely defective. These appear to be so urgently called for, that before their introduction, very little, if any, improvement can be hoped for ; and I am of opinion, that for this purpose, unless East Indian energy and intelligence are brought to bear upon the capabilities of the soil, neither the exigencies of the one will be met, nor the progressive improvement of the other description of districts,

ensured to any satisfactory degree, before a very long period. In spite of the restrictions imposed upon them by wicked and demoralizing customs, what the East Indians will do for their own benefit in their own premises, more conducive to the prosperity of agriculture and the useful arts in general, and, therefore holding out to them larger worldly emoluments, they, already become by experience somewhat deaf to the voice of their spiritual "charmer, charming ever so wisely," will not fail to adopt, at first, no doubt, cautiously, but ultimately, without scruple. To suppose, that those who have never yet been able to resist the fascination, in whatever minute degree it might have been presented to them, will, at any time hereafter, have acquired so much cynical indifference to gold, as to spurn its stronger, and, therefore, more irresistible enticements, when presented to their avaricious minds in larger shapes, would betray no small want of knowledge of their real character. Hence it is easy to imagine, that when they see the East Indians prospering by means of superior modes and implements, which they may introduce, the aborigines will not hesitate to substitute the

same, in the room of their present clumsy ones. Hence also, it is only necessary to scatter the East Indians over the country, which their present number would easily admit of, to give the first shock to the indifference of natives, and excite a spirit of emulation and industry in them. The country would soon present in every place a delightful and picturesque appearance,—a circumstance this which would have no little influence in refining and softening their present stoical feelings, and thereby making them more averse from those inhuman and horrid practices which now stain their character, in other respects tolerably fair ; and it is unnecessary to add, it would augment our own domestic comforts. The country would not only be agreeably studded with a body of teachers of agricultural improvements ; but a moral renovation would commence along with it. The people would soon begin to tax themselves with folly for their shameful supineness, and readily copy the examples in full operation before their view.

Besides the above interesting particulars, it is to be observed, that the country is spotted with numerous civil and military

stations, which are doomed to this day, to undergo the monstrous expense of procuring a variety of the necessities of civilized life from the distance of some hundred miles ; and what amazes one most, is, that they have not conducted a jot to the prosperity of the circumadjacent places. The only reason that can be assigned with safety to the philanthropic reputation of those who preside over, and those who fill them, is, that the absence of a superior order of agriculturists and mechanics has been very much felt in those places hitherto, and will continue to be felt, so long as the East Indians (since Europeans will not be permitted) do not take the field, armed with ploughs and tools, and such other instruments of agriculture and mechanism as would be somewhat more promising than those antique and unwieldy ones, which may answer the jog-trot manœuvres of the natives ; but which, if a better state of things be aimed at, in the introduction of East Indian energy and skill into the field of manurance and other useful arts, must sooner or later be set aside as relics of antiquity, fit to be viewed as curiosities a century hence, but not used. The

locality of the supplies that would be raised by the industry of the colonist would, in a short time, put an effectual period to the waste (as it must be called) of cash above mentioned,--cash, frequently purchased at the mouth of cannons, and with the terrors of the deadly breach. Would not these individuals hail the day of the good things of colonization? And may not every friend to colonization be assured, that it would be encouraged by those who would feel it their interest to have those things, for which they pay so dearly now, at their beck? Nay more, our epicureans would thereby have within reach several of the delectable morceaux to which their wide removes from the emporium of trade makes them strangers, and which they would have no objection to obtain from the farms near at hand.

Moreover, it is customary with Christians, as things now stand, to travel up and down the country chiefly in boats, at an amazing expenditure of cash. One of the reasons for it is, that no manner of accommodations of even a tolerably comfortable nature is procurable. The *suracees*, the only accommodations on the land routes, the usual filthiness of which, added to the wondering gaze

of the uncereemonious mob, as if a monster was passing through the country ; the only species of eatables, coarse rice and indifferent dal, rank ghee and muddy salt ; with the not less remarkable part of these *agreeable* circumstances, the impudence of master *Choukeedar* ; present so repulsive an appearance to intending travellers by land, that they prefer going by water, though very heavily expensive. A person cannot travel with his needful comforts upon his back, like a pedlar with his nick-nacks. To set things to rights, let the high roads be lined with East Indian farmers, a few miles apart from each other, and hard by regular staging villages ; and would it be too much to say, that many of those who would not at present venture on a journey by land, would prefer it to proceeding by water, under the assurance of finding Christian accommodation in the way ? They would no longer dread the idea of transporting themselves through a country, where sickening fare, lousy mattress, and abashing gaze, must be expected. But by travelling by water carriage, which they are now obliged to do for want of cheaper modes of performing journies, they require

to carry every necessary along with them wherever they are bound to. This places them, I might say, so much at the mercy of a parcel of domestics, that they frequently do not fail to avail themselves of the ignorance of their masters, to impose upon them, by representing every article of necessary consumption at 200 per cent. above the real market-price. Expedition in travelling, in a great degree, if not altogether, precludes the possibility of detection; but if you detect them; you cannot turn them out for fear of being obliged to act the part of your own cook; nor may you inflict corporal punishment with impunity on the boatmen, as they will either revenge themselves by retaliation, or, if they cannot pluck up audacity enough to proceed to such lengths; they will abandon the boat, abscond, and leave you to make your way to your destination as well as you can. At times, however, they will avoid both these methods of reprisal, with a view to commit you to the first police *thanna* you reach, where you will continue fast, unless you can demean yourself so far as to purchase the good will of the *courteous gentlemen* who preside over those posts with a round sum of money.

by way of boats; and then you may go about your business, with the best face you can put upon the *droll* affair*. It not unfrequently happens, that our travellers do not carry more ready money with them than they suppose will suffice to answer all the expenses of a tedious journey; so that, sometimes, when a circumstance like that above-mentioned takes place, they are constrained to give up the only means of support they have, on a trip through a country where it would be a miracle to encounter a friend of any kind. Some have been obliged to give a watch, a hookka, surpos, or spoons, to avoid a dangerous starvation; and then to prosecute their journey with the best grace they can, in company with, or rather in the power of those who will then have known how to deal with you, in the event of being provoked to punish them for filching from you. For the future, they will do it in a more barefaced manner, and, by sad expe-

* That circumstances like those here mentioned are, at present, of rare occurrence, is indisputable; but whether it be owing to the increased vigilance of the police, or to the diffusion of knowledge and European manners,—a question lately agitated, but very unsatisfactorily debated,—I cannot say. It is however far from being uncommon, even at this day, that the boatmen often desert their charge on the way, especially if the way of the traveller should include their country, and that, very frequently, without sufficient cause.

science, taught to another irritation, you end your journey with feelings which are not to be coveted. Again, how many are there who, because a journey on foot is intolerable, prefer joining their stations, or going to meet their friends, or transacting their business, on boats! In the first case, a couple or three months salary is swallowed up by boat expenses, so that when they reach their stations, they must immediately hit upon some means of prevailing upon utter strangers to lend them money for barely preserving their lives*. The debt is most frequently not liquidated for months to come. In the next case, the heavy charge of boat conveyance is so serious an impediment to

* The allusion here is to the plan of Government, of making an advance of a couple months' salary to their *uncovenanted servants* to join distant stations, in which they may have obtained appointments. A person obtaining a situation in one of the central provinces, say *Dhaka*, or *Teppah*, of 150 Rs. per month, gets an advance of 300 Rs. with which he must pay the hire of a tolerably comfortable *puthwar*, or *puthaleo* (a *budgerow* must be left out of the question), a cooking boat, servant's wages, or *khorahee* in advance, &c. provisions for the journey of one month, and perhaps more, &c. All this, it would be easy to conceive, would more than run away with the 300 Rs. But this is not all: he has to support himself and family for two months and more, after his arrival at his station and taking charge of his situation; but how he is to do it, it would be difficult to say, unless he has money of his own, or the civilians of the place (as it has not unfrequently happened) assist him.

occasional interviews with dear relatives and friends, that it often puts a termination to good will among them. In the last case, the drawback upon the profits of a merchant that obliged to waste his money, often occasions failure. I am not here alluding to opulent tradesmen, but those of the second or third class. These are things which loudly call for an end; but which must be remediless, unless we attempt to make travelling by land tolerable, (some would like to have it pleasant too,) and safe and cheap, by placing our colonists on the main roads and elsewhere. These remarks are the suggestions of one who has travelled nearly over a moiety of Hindoosthan in every possible shape, but who is constrained to avow, that he would sooner travel on foot, or on a *tattoo*, were such establishments as this essay proposes to intersperse through the country available, than by *dawk*, on elephants, or in boats. He once had to walk the distance of 200 miles, along a road the most beautiful and grand in point of scenery, but the most wretched in point of accommodations, having sometimes been obliged to be satisfied with tamarind for sauce, and brackish water for drink. He

was once or twice also requested to put up at one of the ~~suracos~~ above mentioned, in company with a parcel of miserable people, infected with an epidemic which at that time raged in the place, and from which they were flying for safety elsewhere! All this would have been avoided, if he could have met with East Indians' farms on the way.

By the establishment of farms, as suggested above, many of our East Indians who are brought up to trades, but who are masters of very small capitals, would be induced to undertake long jourmies in the interior, as travelling petty dealers of tea, spices, Europe stationary, such tools as are not yet manufactured in this country, medicines and cordials, warm clothes, trinkets, wines, &c. &c. for all which they would find a ready vend at the several stations, and also among the people at large. The periodical visits of travelling tradesmen would be as acceptable to the East Indian farmers, as the arrivals of the Indianmen are at present to the shopkeepers of Calcutta; especially as these very merchants would readily take off their hands such articles as they shall have manufactured for city and town mar-

kets. Thus a perpetual intercourse of a most interesting nature, embracing mutual and general advantages, would be established throughout the country. An individual possessing a small sum of money, perhaps not more than two or three hundred rupees, would be a total loser, if he were to attempt a travelling traffic by means of boat conveyance. Would it be unreasonable to suppose, that hundreds of such persons would in process of time, be provided for by their meeting with facilities to proceed to the interior for the purpose mentioned? They could carry their few goods in two or more *petaras*, or light boxes, made for the purpose, on one or more bullocks or ponies*.

It may also be observed, that ere long medical assistance will be required in the interior, where, at present, professional men are to be met with only in the civil and military stations. With all the good will and humanity which they generally possess, the small number of these at each station, renders their aid available to but a few of the inhabitants. Much good may be done, and is done by some of them, to the aborigines

* This feature of colonization will necessarily add to the revenues of the state, by the duties levied on the goods carried into the interior and brought from thence into the cities and towns.

that surround them, to a greater or less extent; but still, it may easily be conceived that all that they can do, must be comparatively little. They may attend to the cases of many, yet they must necessarily neglect the cases of many more. They are Europeans, and the impossibility of enduring much fatigue, in a climate so unsuited to their constitution, must be taken into consideration. The dignity of their character too, which has been better calculated to direct "Asiatic labour, than any constant personal labour at the plough or the anvil," or, we may add, at the sick mattress of a poor native, must not be omitted. They are the servants of Government, and their power and means of enlarging their sphere of usefulness must in a good measure depend on the facilities afforded to them for such a purpose. These, and other equally obvious considerations, would induce many of the East Indians to apply themselves to the study and practice of medicine, which they might be able to do, either at the Serampore College, supposing that it forms a branch of the instructions communicated there, or at the different dispensaries of Calcutta, the superintendents of which are at present in the

habits of taking one or two apprentices from time to time. In these dispensaries, I am aware they would not acquire a knowledge of anatomy, yet what they would learn would not be useless knowledge; and may I not express a hope, that our munificent Government, if applied to, would suffer them to acquire this part of professional knowledge at their different hospitals? Government need not support these apprentices; the Committee of Management of the East Indian colonization could do it at a small expense; or the *Calcutta Apprenticing Society* might be solicited to apprentice them out to Government; but it would not be too much to presume, that the co-operation of Government itself in these respects would not be withheld, considering the advantages held out by the establishment of a system like the one delineated in these pages. The formation of East Indian villages would afford ample means of sustenance to their brethren of the faculty, whilst kindred feelings would render their services, when experience and time shall have matured their knowledge of the science in question, doubly pleasing and acceptable. These doctors, or whatever they be called, would not,

of the natives, the benefits of their knowledge is in particular to their countrymen alone; but like benevolent parents, whilst they cannot neglect the wants of their family, they will make all comfortable around them, and thus Indo-British humanity and generosity will be resounded for and wide, next to that of those from whom they are descended. The aborigines would therefore share in their valuable services, and induced by such acts of kindness, would endeavour not to forfeit their profitable friendship by attempts at hostility.

But I open the field wider yet, by remarking, that the increase of East Indian population would probably, and perhaps reasonably, render the revision of the existing regulations of Government necessary, and call for fresh enactments. The present provisions confine the very respectable office of *moonsif*, or commissioner, to Hindoos and Moosulmans, for the obvious reason, that the litigating parties are, at present, of one or other of these two persuasions. But the establishment of East Indian farms, and the consequent possession of land by them, will require, and it would be but equity to grant, that the

These Indians would be employed in that, or in some other way, and would make up for the loss of the Christian missionaries. The fact is, without any special Government aid, is the case with the native missionaries, who receive no salary from the State, are compensated, at the price of their disposal, at their respective courts. Christian commissioners could be provided in the same manner. The additional of stamps, which would be occasions the formation of the establishments, recommended, would add to the revenue of Government.

As a political question, colonization will equally well bear examination. It will not be difficult for the reader to fancy himself surrounded by a dense population, and under objection, or, if we consider the subject differently, we shall admit, by comparison, a slender power, or in other words, the British possessions in India rest upon a very uncertain and problematical ground. At present, there is nothing but the understanding to suppress any future colonial competition. Should such a case arise, the army, the navy, the

knowledge unfettered by the salutary chains of kindred feelings, or untempered by Christian sympathy, love and forbearance, would not be a suspicious weapon in the hands of those who do not require to be told that their country has been taken away fairly from them, would be to say, that when a people come to comprehend the unreasonableness of subjection to a foreign yoke, however mild it may be, and are conscious of their superior power, (I am here supposing them to have advanced in civilization, and especially to have increased in number considerably, and acquired a familiarity with European tactics,) they will still prefer it to the possession of those powers which they once enjoyed. It may not be an improbable conjecture, that the strong degree of attachment which the natives at present display for their protectors, is not the fruit of any effort of their judgment; but the experience of the wide difference of treatment from the Government under which they were last, and from that under which they are now. Human nature, however, is capricious. Where no other motive but that of the lenity of treatment which we enjoy exists, we soon show how little

is to be depended on. Freedom, of which few men take the trouble to acquire a definite and rational idea, floats so loosely in our imagination, and dances before our eyes in so many different phrensy-working forms, that we are not unfrequently apt to make a wanton display of power against all motives of gratitude, except where religion has buried all recollections of the loss of primeval greatness and liberty, in her broader and more influential principles of action. But it is said, all knowledge is not power,—that literary and religious knowledge is not power; but the correctness of this may be denied. All knowledge, in its nature, is expansive; it opens the mind to take in more extended and accurate views of things, and enables it to argue from causes to effects, from things to their consequences. The thirst for knowledge, when it once seizes the mind, is not to be easily checked. He that can read a tale, will in time be able to read history; and he that can read one history, can read all histories; and what must be the consequence, when the mind has thus far gone, is not difficult to foretell: But I forbear to go more deeply into the subject. I hope the remarks I have

freely made, will not be construed into hostility against communicating knowledge to the native subjects of the British Government in India. I am no advocate for an illiberal system of government, or of despotism ; on the contrary, I maintain, that it is no good reason, that because the possession of knowledge by the natives may prove detrimental to the continued prosperity of British power in India, it should be withheld from them. Give them, therefore, knowledge, useful knowledge ; but with it give them religious knowledge, and if any thing can authorize us to defy the wish of wresting the country from the hands of the English, it is this, unless the will of Providence be otherwise. Between religious knowledge and other knowledge, there is this difference, that while there is little or nothing to temper the passions and views of men, but every thing to inflame them on various accounts and occasions in the latter, there is a kind of compound property in the former, which, whilst it enlarges the mind, calms the passions at the same time. Great Britain was never, perhaps, blessed with such dutiful subjects as her present ones ; and to what is it owing ? Doubtless to

the considerable degree of real piety which exists in her. That religion which teaches obedience and subjection to rulers, when properly understood, cordially received, and faithfully adhered to, cannot be dangerous for any kingdom;—that religion which professes to teach the dispositions of the citizens of the kingdom of heaven itself, cannot be unfriendly to the wellbeing of the kingdoms of the earth.

The other effectual means to counteract any future convulsion, is the facilitation of colonization. It may be doubted, as it has been, whether it would be safe to permit European colonization here. The recent conduct of the British colonists who now form the United States of North America, may seem to afford some countenance to the suspicion; but it is to be feared, that those who indulge such doubt, do not carry their examination of the subject beyond the pale of the single instance of misfortune (if it may be so called) just mentioned. The situation of the Anglo-American colonists at the time referred to, was very different from what can possibly be the case in India, should it ever be colonized by Europeans. What was there in the case of the

Americans to prevent their taking the step they have taken? Nothing that I can see, unless it be the forbearance of the attempt to tax them without their consent, either of their representatives in parliament, or their own immediately? But in India, the thick population of natives would for centuries prove effectual checks to the British colonists throwing off their allegiance to Britain. In America, the natives were so few and so barbarous, that the British colonists found it the easiest matter to make room for themselves, by driving them into the interior. Should Europeans be permitted to colonize this country, they will be obliged to scatter themselves almost throughout it, a circumstance which must alone disqualify them for copying the example of the British North American colonists. I am of opinion, therefore, that Europeans may be permitted to colonize the country, not only with safety, but with great advantage to the interests of Britain.

But whatever might be said as to the safety and propriety of permitting Europeans to colonize the country, there can be no doubt as to the advantages that would be derived to the British Government in India

by the colonization of it by East Indians.

East Indian towns and villages all over the country would be salutary preventives of the springs of rebellion. If any such thing should ever take place, their all would be at stake, for the preservation of which, they would feel it their best interest to side with the State. Any thing brooding against the Government would be as dangerous to themselves. And what Christian is there who would not take up arms in support of a Christian Government,—a Government that allows perfect liberty of conscience, and protects it too? Is there an East Indian who would not do this? He dislikes to be placed under the galling shackles of a Hindoo or a Turkish government; and self-interest should induce him to be faithful to the Government, under which he enjoys security of property, person, and conscience. He may, therefore, be depended on to assist in preventing any tumults on the part of the natives. What might take place two or three hundred years hence, in consequence of an overgrown population of East Indians, it would be improper to surmise; for if any such thing should take

place, will it be less possible to prevent it, because they have colonized the country, than if they grew up to a large body, without sufficient employment to divert their attention from foolish and hopeless projects of rescuing the reins of government from the hands of a power, with whom it would be rank folly to think to cope successfully, at any, the longest given period? To prevent their increasing is almost absolutely impossible; oppression would only have an effect the very opposite of that which it was intended to produce. Hence the only alternative left to prevent the increase of East Indians, is to exterminate them altogether from the face of the earth; but whether it would be a more prudent policy to do this, or to suffer their growth, and by extending their privileges, and permitting them to acquire a stronger attachment to, and permanent interest in the soil, let those who are concerned in the question, decide: but we repeat, that it is improper to surmise that the East Indians will at any future period, near or distant, turn traitors to their king and country, even though they should propagate themselves into an irresistible multitude. Is not the country wide enough for

a couple hundred millions of additional inhabitants? Let us cast our eyes on the vast tract of country lying between Bengal and Behar, and even to Nagpoor, covered with impenetrable forests,—how easily might room be made for them there! The eastern territories no less afford ample space for some millions to the south and north. With so much room at command, it would be uncharitable to entertain the opinion, that the liege subjects of his Majesty would notwithstanding revolt. It should not be forgotten, however, that so long as the aborigines continue to exhibit a progressive propensity to become enlightened, they will always prove checks sufficient to crush the buds of the political ambition of the East Indians. A mutual restraint is necessary, and such a restraint East Indian colonization abundantly promises. So that, instead of three or four hundred years of brilliant reign, our Government may hope to subsist for ever.—**GOD SAVE THE KING !**

A Christian will be allowed to say a few words respecting an opinion he entertains of the propagation of the faith, which, he trusts, is dearer to him than existence itself, by the aid of colonization. It is his opi-

nion, that colonization by means of East Indians, would be a valuable auxiliary to the spread of the gospel. In proportion as the East Indians increase in number, and distribute themselves into separate bodies in different parts of the country, as farmers, &c. which they must in process of time do for want of room, it is fondly to be hoped, that they will feel the need of spiritual teachers. Ministers will be necessarily called for, and will be readily supplied by the Serampoor or the Bishop's College, or by the several Societies in operation. If these ministers be evangelical and zealous, so far from burying their talents within the circumference of their respective *parishes*, e. i. East Indian farms, they will endeavour to extend their sphere of usefulness by introducing the gospel among the surrounding heathen. Such a measure would afford an abundant prospect of success; and what more than *prospects* do we need entertain, under the assurance, that *the increase* is the exclusive prerogative of our adorable Saviour, whose power is irresistible, and whose grace is inexhaustible! What a small field is at present occupied by the missionaries of the gospel, compared with the

incalculable miles of country, the untold numbers of idolaters, that present themselves to our view! The resources of the *societies engaged in the work of missions, are not equal to universal effort.* Supposing, then, each village to have one minister, who should, if possible, support himself in the same way as those to whom he would preach statedly, there would be as many preachers as villages. What extensive scope would be afforded to missionary zeal! But supposing that the colonists did not immediately call for ministers, if they would only give them a welcome whenever they itinerated towards the way of their farms, as missionary sojourners, for short seasons, there is scarce a doubt but that many of them would repeatedly visit their establishments. It would contribute not a little to cheer the colonists, thus to fall in with good Christians now and then. If churches be organized among them, the ordinances of religion also would in time be administered to them; and thus, with industry prospering their temporal matters, and the travelling missionaries establishing them in the more important concerns of a future world, surely nothing

more could be left for mortal probationers to desire!

As to the advantages the East Indians would command over the aborigines, I shall in the first place mention the pitiful condition of the Hindoos, who, through dread of the destruction of their caste, which would be the utter downfall of their respectability in the eyes of their countrymen, and would at once estrange them from the endearments and kind offices of their dearest relatives, dare not so much as apply a razor to their chins, or drive a needle through a piece of cloth! The East Indians are not thus circumscribed, and in a general point of view, would be able to compete with the natives in the acquisition of the comforts of life. But to particularize. The Hindoo dares not feed his own poultry, in consequence of which he is driven to the necessity of living upon fish and vegetables; but even in these, he finds he cannot have his choice. A Hindoo must not eat turtle, crabs, salt fish of any kind, &c. Considering the vast demand there is of poultry, could the poor creatures be permitted merely to rear live stock for sale, what a great acquisition would it not prove to the poor

Hindoo farmer! This, then, is one important branch of domestic comfort effectually wiped off from his books, and the space will be left blank as long as Brahminic superstition preponderates. It is not easy to conceive how men can submit to be thus fooled. To the East Indians, who do not only not scruple to touch and feed poultry, but also take very good care to make hearty meals on their flesh, this would be a complete advantage. How many of the comforts of life would they not secure to themselves by feeding their own poultry! The eggs would both afford them nutritive food, and the means of increasing their stock. In what a variety of ways are eggs served up at our tables! It would be almost a task to enumerate them; yet not one of them is known to the Hindoos. A common omelet has frequently sufficed to furnish an acceptable meal to less scrupulous people. It is true, that many Hindoos are seen devouring a huge heap of rice, with nothing else to make it palatable but a piece of tamarind, cooked or burned in the hearth. The advantage is evidently in favour of the former, on the score of cleanliness and delicacy. Besides which, such articles of

food as tamarind, acid-balls, &c. are not usually to be had without being paid for, unless begging were resorted to ; but where is the necessity of either, when by feeding a few fowls, fresh eggs will be at hand at any time ? Successive and regular propagation of poultry would supply our East Indians with the most wholesome animal food ; and if they could contrive to raise more than would suffice for their own use, the remainder could advantageously be disposed of for ready money. Observe here, that in the mere feeding and using of poultry, the advantages the East Indians would gain over the Hindoos are four or five fold, viz. they would have eggs and flesh for food, eggs for propagation, the sale of superfluous stock, and the value of the stock itself.

Over their Moosulman competitors the East Indians would command many advantages ; by feeding pigs, and having a pigsty. These the Moosulmans must never hope to be able to do, without the destruction of their caste, and exposure to those misfortunes which the Hindoos would be thrown into by turning poulterers. In this article of the comforts of European life, the

East Indians would have the following advantages over the Moosulmans, and of course over the majority of Hindoos likewise. 1. Pigs breed faster than any other domesticated quadruped, to a proverb; so that it would secure to the East Indians a speedy accumulation of valuable stock, and a progressive emolument in consequence of it. 2. A hog or pig slaughtered now and then, would afford substantial food for days together to a numerous family. 3. A hog previously fattened for the purpose, could be killed to make hams and sausages of all kinds, which, after keeping enough for home consumption, could be disposed of for cash. 4. The lard also would be an article of gain, and at the same time answer all the purposes to which ghee (clarified butter) is applied by the Hindoos and Moosulmans. 5. The milk of cows, of which ghee is made, thus saved, could very profitably be applied to the manufacture of cheese, which the ingenuity of our East Indians would enable them to make a little more durable and delectable than those that go by the name of Bandel and Dhaka cheese, and which they could of course turn to better account. 6. Superfluous stock could be

disposed of. And 7. The value of the stock in hand would always be considerable. These two articles would give the East Indians a twelvefold advantage over the Hindoos, and sevenfold over the Moosulmans! If the East Indians chose a suitable site for their habitations, the feeding of poultry and swine would be attended with no expense whatsoever.

In the next place, by having their own fleecy flock to a certain extent, (or to an indefinite extent, if desired,) the East Indians would secure some farther advantages over the Hindoos, to whom, (in the lower provinces,) I fancy, a sheep is as great an abomination as a hog is to a Moosulman. It would procure a variety of food, whether it be in the shape of a lamb or mutton. Their wool could either be sold unwrought, or spun yarn or worsted. But it could be manufactured into blankets, if the East Indians could but take the pains to learn how to do it. The skins would always fetch money, so long as shoes remained in fashion. If they could contrive to make their own shoes, (and nothing in the trades is so easy,) what an advantage would it not afford them! At any rate, the skins could be sold for

ready money, or ready made shoes could be procured by bartering skins for them. Nor needs the fat of sheep to be thrown away, as it could be appropriated to several useful purposes. We have frequently seen butchers feeding their lamps with the fat of mutton, instead of oil. If mixed up with a proper quantity of hog's lard, it would be very serviceable in preserving Bologna sausages, &c. ; besides which, if the East Indians made their own wooden household furniture; an excellent polish might be made of the fat of mutton mixed up with sundry other ingredients. Moreover, a superabundance of stock needs not to be kept up, so that a portion might be got rid of in the market, or to travelling dealers in live stock. And in the same manner with the other articles, the stock in hand would be worth money. Let the reader add these advantages to those noticed in the two foregoing articles, and say on which side the advantages lie.

Another wholesome article to which society is accustomed, is fish, which most of the Hindoos who are not downright fishermen are under the necessity of buying. This being the only animal food allowed

them, next to rice constitutes their principal dish. The East Indians could supply themselves with it, by casting their net or drawing their seine in the tank, lake, or river, on the bank or in the neighbourhood of which they might erect their habitations. It is not necessary that they should turn regular fishermen; nevertheless, by handling their own nets, they would avoid the necessity of depending upon the natives for supplying them with fish. It is the easiest thing in the world to make nets. I recollect, that at a certain time, I and three others took in hand and finished a large net, of several feet in length and breadth, in the course of 15 hours, for the purpose of catching flying foxes. We commenced in the morning, and caught our game at night the same day. The Hindoos, with the exception of the Muchhooa caste, must not venture to dry their fish; so that if one of them should by angling take up a large fish, he must either throw away the best part of it, distribute it among his neighbours, (by which he makes a virtue of necessity,) or eat the whole before morning, and the next morning die of a surfeit. I have witnessed several instances of their falling seriously ill

by gormandizing on fishes which have by some fortunate accident been thrown in their way. It is not commonly known how many of them die by eating immoderately of the sable-fish. Had they the option of either drying a part of it, or making what is called "tamarind fish," there would be a variety of food at their command, as well a saving of money, leaving the circumstance of dying by eating fish out of the question. But since the East Indians are at liberty to make what use they please of fish, they would gain farther decided advantages over their qualmish competitors of the Hindoo caste.

I have *en passant* mentioned the consequences the Hindoos, and I will add, the Moosulmans are subject to, from their adherence to a system of harassing superstition and idolatry, by which the Brahmins have acquired an unlimited and irresistible dominion over them. I will endeavour to throw further light on the subject, with a view to illustrate the advantages the East Indians could command, in carrying on a competition with the aborigines.

If either of the abovementioned classes of people have to celebrate a marriage, they must indispensably invite all their neigh-

hours to partake of a feast. If they fail to do it, they are forthwith ejected from every circle, are thenceforward regarded as infamous, and become a byeword in the place of their abode; and to such an extent is ill-will carried towards them, that the poor outcasts cannot prevail upon their neighbours to come and bury their dead for them. In short, they must undergo the expense of feasting them, or be a solitary thing in "the world's wide common." In order to escape all this, the Moosulmans are obliged to give a dinner as often as they have a child to circumcise, on every marriage that takes place in their house, and twice at least, if a death occurs, after four, and again after forty days. The expenditure of money falls heaviest on the poor Hindoos, who in addition to regaling their neighbours on every ceremonial occasion, have to make munificent presents to their Gooroos and other Brahmins. In addition to these, all their religious observances or poojahs make a continual breach in their hard-earned cash. To enable them to defray such absurd expenses, they are obliged to borrow money at an exorbitant rate of interest, (not at any time less than two pice per rupee monthly,) which they frequently have it not

in their power to liquidate during the rest of their lives. Hence we often hear them complain, that they are obliged to pay eight or twelve annas per month out of their income to their ready-money Muhajuns, by way of interest. To these galling fetters, thanks to Christianity, the East Indians will never consent to submit: hence an incalculable advantage is past dispute within their reach. Simply from not having the best portion of their gains swallowed up by vain ceremonies and unnecessary feastings, the advantages will be found to be effectually on the side of the East Indian colonists; who will, in process of time, be by far the most successful cultivators of the soil, and in a condition to vie with the most respectable landholders among their silly, priest-ridden competitors.

Again, excepting the weaver caste, who are generally confined to their looms, (though some of them cultivate lands,) the Hindoos would be excluded from society, if they got up their own wearing apparel. The Moosulmans are not a whit better off. If the female members of an East Indian's family were to undertake the weaving of cloth for the use of their families, another great ad-

vantage would be gained by them over his circumscribed competitors. And why may they not do it! Why should not the females of the East Indian colonist's family be capable of engaging in an occupation which is not less honorable than the art of weaving! They would not surely like it to be said of them, that the wives of the native farmers were more useful than they. In Ireland and Scotland, in general, the fair sex have this indispensable work to perform : and were it not for their laudable industry in this branch of the comforts of civilized life, *we* should probably never have come to the sight of the Irish linen, or plaid of the prettiest hues and finest textures, that are annually imported into this country. It is one of the easiest arts, and a child of eight or ten years of age is equal to undertake it ; it seems therefore well adapted to the delicate system of females. Excepting the stretching out the warp in the first instance, the whole of the details of weaving is performed within doors. How truly gratifying to the feelings of an industrious female would it be, to behold her dear family decently clothed by the labour of her *own* hands! What a genuine cause for her husband to set a due value on the pos-

possession of such a treasure! And would not this naturally win his heart to be more attached to her? Her children, or others connected with her, would doubtless venerate her interesting character, and imperceptibly learn to imitate her virtues. In life she would be a blessing to all around her, and death would not be able to blot out the grateful remembrance of self-denial and industry from the minds of the survivors. Who would not admire such a person? Beauty leaves not a vestige of its existence, after the departure of the possessor of it; but industry leaves trophies behind. There are some amongst the East Indian females who take no small pains to excel in the art of making carpets. Now were they to take half the pains thus bestowed upon a piece of work which is not by half so useful as weaving cloth for home use, they would soon find the blessings that go along with choosing serviceable, rather than ornamental work. An industrious disposition in a wife is the most powerful encouragement to promote a corresponding temper in the husband; but an indolent one will clothe her husband with rags, to the great discomfort of her own life. A man may love an indolent wife, but he cannot admire her. He

should not be credited if he said so, as it is certain he does not speak what he thinks and feels. But the character of an industrious female of the weaving class, above all other secular artists, is of such an interesting nature, that the pages of inspiration have not failed to make the most respectable mention of it. " Other daughters have done well, but thou excellest them all ! "

Another advantage in favour of the East Indian colonists would be their undertaking the cultivation of all sorts of grain and vegetables. This the aborigines are not permitted to do. There are certain articles which every Hindoo or Moosulman farmer must not attempt to cultivate, either from the fear of expulsion from society, or because they have not obtained in his family from the time of his ancestors : as the betel, for instance, which is confined altogether to the Pantee caste. It is true, the aborigines are not prohibited from cultivating mustard seed, sesamum, castor, &c. but the advantage to the East Indians would lie in the manufacturing of them into oil, which the former dare not do, unless they be of the Koloo caste, and even a Koloo is never a cultivator of the materials he uses to promote his trade. The me-

method of making oil is remarkably simple. The mill, which is made of wood at a very small expense, is turned by only one ox. The presence of the miller is not indispensable at the mill: he may come to it now and then for the purpose of putting a fresh quantity of seed into the funnel. The mustard seed would yield him oil for culinary purposes, and the sediment (called *Khullee* by the natives) would afford a necessary article of food for his cattle. The sesamum likewise yields oil, which is applied to various uses by the natives, to whom therefore it could be sold for ready money. These two articles do not require the appropriation of exclusive spots of ground. The early rice, or *ardhan*, being reaped in September, makes room for various articles, amongst which are mustard and sesamum. The castor is frequently sown on the banks of tanks, and in spots where nothing else could be profitably cultivated, though more pains are taken with it in the upper provinces. A similar practice could be resorted to by the East Indians. He could manufacture it into what is called "cold-drawn castor oil," and sell it as a medicine, or make it in the common way, by frying the seed before it is put

into the mill, which would make it a very good substitute for mustard oil to feed his lamps with. The mustard oil thus saved could be sold to the aborigines to great advantage. It is true, that such an extent of land could not be spared for these articles of cultivation as to enable the East Indian colonists to keep their mills constantly going from the produce of them. But rather than let them stand still, they could purchase the seed from the natives, and manufacture oil, which would both pay the expense of buying it, leave the Khulleé for the use of the cattle, and yield some profit by the sale of the oil. In like manner, coconut could be procured, which of itself would keep several hands pretty well employed. The oil would be extracted ; the shell would be cleaned for making “ hobble-bobbles” for the use of the natives ; and the coir could be manufactured into rope or cables. Moreover, the remains of the mill afford a very fattening article of food for swine.

It would be indispensable for the East Indians to cultivate their own cotton like the aborigines. The mere cultivation of it puts them on an equal footing with the latter ;

but there are other circumstances connected with it, which would give the decided advantage to the colonists. They should not sell the cotton, but get the thread spun out of it at home. I do not conceive that the whole of the cotton produced in the fields of the colonists could be spun within doors. The surplus could be given to the native spinners in the neighbourhood, who would give thread in exchange, according to the respective valuation of each. The advantage lies in this, that whereas the native weavers are invariably obliged to buy their thread in the markets for ready money, the East Indian colonist would have it for barter; and as the cotton would be the price of the stipulated quantum of thread *advanced*, the thread would bear a less value than it does at the market. It is well worthy of remark, that a single female spinner of thread in a native farmer's family, spins sufficient, and more than sufficient for clothing the whole family, besides procuring various domestic articles by the sale of superfluous quantities. So far as this, I trust, the East Indian female might be allowed to be capable of doing; but in order to surpass the natives, they should have nothing more to do than weave

their own cloth. If thread could, however, be obtained from their neighbours in exchange for cotton, it would be more advisable to supersede the spinning department by engaging exclusively in the weaving one.

We must not forget to notice some other things, which at first sight might appear unimportant, but which would not prove to be such to our colonists : for by overlooking or neglecting to attend to them, because they appeared trifling, they would constantly be subject to annoyance from their native neighbours, on whom they would thereby be obliged to depend. In the first place, though the purchase of ploughs, and all the component parts of its furniture, might be effected by small sums of money, and the work of carpenter and smith obtained for a few annas, yet much time is lost by dancing attendance on those artists for the construction of a single plough or plough-share ; and after all, a day or two is to be spent probably at their shops, to get them made *soon*. Now, as to the wooden part of the work, if the colonists could acquire the commonest use of the adze, they would not only make their own ploughs and rakes, but could cause the

native farmers to depend upon them. Many other little things could be mentioned, which could be done at leisure, both to the saving of small sums of money, and the riddance of obligation to the aboriginal artists.

In addition to all these, *they* have the advantage of having excellent publications on improved methods of cultivation, the rearing of cattle, &c. respecting which the natives must yet for a long while remain in the dark. They are in this one respect, at least a century behind the East Indians. A gradual introduction of improvements would no doubt cause the scales to *bend* very much in favour of our colonists. These improvements would as a necessary consequence be borrowed by the aborigines, who would perceive the superiority of science over old fog-trot custom, and readily adopt the methods practised among them. Before, however, such a disposition is produced in the minds of the natives, the East Indians will have established themselves properly in their business : and if not arrived at a condition to preclude the possibility of all manner of competition with them, they will have been placed on a footing in which they need not fear any thing from the natives.

The East Indians ought not any longer to suffer themselves to be deceived by the false appearances of things—they ought to be well assured, that the road to their prosperity lies in the cultivation of the soil—they ought to see the imprudence of centring their hopes in one point—they ought to give up their false notions—they ought to despise the foolish insinuations of pride—they ought to consider what indignities they suffer—what miseries await neglect—what motives address them—what fields invite them.

Arise, then, my countrymen—“up and be doing.” Let not another moment be lost—apply with prudence, with resolution, with ardour, and apply yourself immediately to the work of colonization—for *there* your honour, your wealth, your happiness lie.

APPENDIX.



Remarks on the present Mode of Agriculture among the Aborigines.

KORA, excepting that tract of country which extends from the Jungul Mahal to the sea south, and as far as Sreehnt (or Sylhet) east, exhibits the most diversified prospects. Beyond the extent of country mentioned, there are all the varieties of scenery and soil which form the characteristics of a beautiful and interesting country. The lower parts of Bengal, however, present a sameness of scenery almost throughout : its soil is notwithstanding so very fertile, that a very small portion of trouble and expense would render a person's residence, in certain parts of it, charming. The banks of the Ganges, or those of any other of the rivers with which it abounds, afford very picturesque spots for a person's habitation. The western parts, owing to the scarcity of hands devoted to agriculture, are overgrown with brush-wood, while the eastern parts, with some exceptions, are overrun with reeds and high grass, and, during three or four months in the year, are under water. The Jynteeah mountains, as well as those which are situate further south, pour down a vast body of water into the low countries, and deluge them to a very great extent. In consequence of this, the villages in those parts are built upon high spots of ground raised for the purpose, and hence there, as well as in the district of Luroor, communication is cut off, as it respects travelling on foot. The people go in boats from one place to another, which have the appearance of islands in the midst of an ocean. This sort of seclusion is peculiar to the eastern parts of Bengal. The western parts, again, rise gradually, and end in lofty mountains, a little beyond Bankoorah. India, to the south, has much the same appearance as the neighbourhood of Calcutta, with the only difference, that it is beautified with the towering aspect of the Neelgiree and other hills. The soil, in many places, is extremely luxuriant. I have passed through paddy-fields in which my

palanquin has been almost hid. The soil of this place appears to me richer than any I have yet noticed. Some parts of it are liable to inundation, but such a circumstance is of rare occurrence. As the traveller proceeds further west, he is charmed with a delightful grandeur of scenery, both during his ascent up the table land of Huzareebagh, and in his descent down Sherghatee, where it is especially so. Excepting this portion, and certain other smaller ones, which it does not fall under my present province to describe, India presents an endless forest to view, teeming, as will be readily supposed, with wild beasts of all sorts. As the traveller descends from the Sherghatee heights, and proceeds, the forests gradually lessen, and extensive plains open to view on all sides, which continuously prevail until the approach to a vast range of hills, which I perceived to take its rise from the great river Sou (Sone), and pass in its progress at the back of Mirzapoor, beyond which I have not been, and, probably, colonization, by means of East Indians, would not be allowed.

Having visited many places in the Dukkhn, I could enlarge considerably on the chorographical peculiarities of them ; but, as, I think, the East Indians would not be permitted to establish themselves within the dominions of the native princes that govern them, it would be unimportant to do so. I cannot help mentioning, however, that circumstances of the most interesting and encouraging nature are to be met with throughout the Dukkhn ; and if colonization were sanctioned, it would, I have no doubt, prosper. There is probably not another portion of Hindoosthan which betrays such signs of the absence of agricultural hands as this. Whole towns and villages have been abandoned, in consequence of which, the circumjacent country is necessarily reduced to desolation. This cannot be owing to the soil ; for it appeared to me to possess not only variety, but luxuriance, to the full extent of a person's wishes. I have also visited some parts of Ourissa, which, excepting the sea coast, in general, or rather, all that part which lies between the sea coast and the hills, corresponds in its chorography with Midnapore. Much useful information respecting this interesting portion of Hindoosthan has been offered to the public by Mr. Sterling, in his excellent work*. It is well worthy of perusal. There are one or two particulars on which I entertain

* A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Sketch of Oorisa Proper.

a different opinion, especially respecting the soil of certain parts of it where I have been, and took down notes of a variety of local and other circumstances. In short, all that tract which comprises, or did once comprise, the territories of the rajahs of Khoorja, has been very scandalously neglected; and what might with proper management be made to yield a full remuneration of the labours of the cultivator, now scarcely produces sufficient to cover the expense of cultivation. There are, however, creditable exceptions. Ourissa contains every thing almost of which any society can stand in need. Some parts of its scenery are truly sublime. Colonization would probably succeed as well here, if not better, than in any other part of Hindoosthan comprised within the British territories, taken either in a commercial or agricultural point of view.

No country in the world has so many large rivers, and which are so admirably calculated to convey to the sea the mighty torrents that roll down the numerous chains of mountains which line its northern and western boundaries, as Hindoosthan, which otherwise would be uninhabitable. The eastern parts are very low, and though there are immense rivers which run through them, yet they are subject to annual inundations, which raise the water, in some places, twenty feet above the earth. On the contrary, the western parts, though they are watered by the Damoodur, Sone, Ganges, Jumna, and a multitude of other rivers of a lesser magnitude, are very frequently parched for want of sufficiency of water. The wisdom of Providence appears conspicuously in this arrangement; since, had there been as much water in the higher parts as is met with in the nether, the consequence would be, that wheat, one of the natural productions of those parts, and in which these inhabitants have been, from their first immigration into them, accustomed to live, would fail, and thus oblige them to abandon them. Rice, which is easier of digestion than wheat,—some may not agree in this opinion,—on the other hand, is properly placed in abundance in a part of the country which is much hotter. Here, therefore, is an abundance of water to assist its growth and fruitfulness. Wheat, which does not require so much moisture as rice, is, therefore, with propriety most attended to in the western parts. In the southern parts, it is very remarkable that there is not even an equal proportion

of rice and wheat cultivated. The latter would certainly seem to be more congenial to them, from the scarcity of water in it ; but why the preference is given to the former, I do not feel myself competent to hazard an opinion.

There is not a river in the Dukkhun which can be compared to the Ganges. Most of the rivers have scarcely any water during the hot season. This local incapacity (if I may be allowed the use of the expression) of the Dukkhun, as well as of the western parts of Hindoosthan, is, however, partly remedied by large sheets of water, which may be called lakes, which collect in different places, and by the deep pits or wells which are dug for the purpose of supplying the requisite irrigation. The multitude of small rivers, in Bengal, which never dry up, save all that trouble to its inhabitants which those of the other parts already mentioned have. In many places of it, however, much injury is done to the crops for want of water. If proprietors of extensive estates were to cause large tanks or canals to be dug at proper distances all over such parts as are subject to drought, the evils sustained from it would be avoided. It is true, that many of them are in the habits of getting tanks dug ; but they are usually intended to supply the need of pilgrims : hence they are mostly found by the sides of high-roads. A multiplicity of tanks would have the advantage of concentrating the water in the event of inundations, and thereby in a great measure of preventing the interruptions to which, from this cause, the cultivators are usually subject, and also afford a ready supply when drought may prevail. Lacks and lacks of rupees have been expended in making banks on the sides of rivers, in order to prevent inundation. Had these vast sums been appropriated to the digging of large tanks or canals, it would certainly have been attended with better results. What, on this plan, would be lost in ground, which these tanks would occupy, would be more than covered by rescuing large crops from total failure, owing to the present inundations on the one hand, and droughts on the other. These reservoirs might be so situated as to have communications with the small rivers, in order to provide against the insalubrious effects of stagnant waters. There are extensive Jheels, or Julas, all over the country, which occupy more land than they ought to be suffered to do. The middle part of them should be dug deeper,

which would prevent swamps, and much land would be recovered by their respective owners by this means.

Lamentably deficient as the state of things is, and considering also the inadequate pains they take to improve their lands, the people contrive to manage their cultivations well enough. In the western provinces, and in the Dukkhum, generally, the farmers sink deep pits or wells, some of which are fifty or sixty feet deep, from which they draw up water, either in iron vessels or leathern bags, for the purpose of irrigation. I have not seen the former used in the western provinces. Two oxen or bullocks are indispensable at each of these wells, according to the native method, when they wish to take up water. The leathern bags, or the pukhalees (the name of the iron vessels), are lowered down into the wells by means of a rope, which passes over a small wheel, supported either on two posts or earthen pillars, which is turned by the oxen, and draws up the vessel again : by this means one pair of cattle are able to irrigate about three beeghas of land a day. This, however, is the highest rate of the powers of the native cattle, owing to the little care taken of them, and the little food they get to eat. Our East Indians, if they could not pitch upon more favourable sites, could outdo the natives in the irrigation of their lands by the use of tread-wheels, to be turned by tattoos thrown into them, or by weights on the principles of clock-work. The application of the latter to a variety of other uses would save no little expense and labour ; and as they are simple in their construction, they could be done for a trifle, and expeditiously. I would recommend that every two beeghas of land be furnished with a deep well. In some places, it would be necessary to have one for each beegha ; and even should the ground be ever so low, they should still have wells, unless large tanks could be dug at certain distances, in which case, the water should be carefully preserved, and not suffered, as is commonly the case, to run out through wide openings left at two ends, where there are ghats for the accommodation of travellers. These tanks, cleared out every third year, would have their depths, and the purity of their water preserved ; and the corrupt or putrid earth accumulated during that time, being thrown into the field in proper quantities, would enrich the soil for two or three years. Such a sort of manure is far superior to the dung of animals, or of any thing

else that I am acquainted with. These tanks should be kept clear of weeds, and well stocked with fish, which, while they would afford the colonists very excellent food, would by their movements prevent the water from stagnating. Each tank thus taken care of would supply a plentiful irrigation to 100 beeghas of land, provided it be made of a suitable size.

I have already hinted, that the country, and, indeed, almost every district, affords a variety of soils. It comprises loam, sand, chalk, and different degrees of admixture of each. There are certain, and some of them extensive, spots, which are impregnated with iron ore, and other mineral substances that are inimical to the growth of certain articles. The only way, of course, to turn them to account, would be to allot them to such things as are suited to their nature, that is, such things as may possibly grow upon such ground. Simple as this advice may appear, it never occurs to the poor natives. Each tribe is allowed to cultivate certain things only; and as they can thrive on certain soils only, the lands in which they fail are forthwith abandoned as useless. Hence the many uncultivated tracts of country called *na lajaputeet*, which we behold. If wheat, rice, or sugar-cane will not grow there, the farmers are quite nonplussed, and take no further pains with them. There was a spot of ground at Hooglee which nobody would take up, on account of the soil, which was sandy. I took it up, and with very little trouble made it to yield almost every thing that is cultivated in the country, to the great surprise of my neighbours. In the district of Burdwan, I observed that the natives manured their paddy fields with big clods of hardened clay, which they bring from the beds of shallow ponds, and which as they laid them under no necessity of digging them up, being naturally cracked into large cakes (so to speak) by the heat of the sun, and being very loose, they had only to take up, and carry them wherever they pleased. In every other place that I am acquainted with, the farmers cast a few baskets of decomposed dung, mixed with ashes, and a variety of such rubbish as they daily sweep into a place hollowed for their reception, close to their habitations. The quantity is, however, very inadequate; for I seldom saw more than twenty baskets full thrown into each beegha of land, and even this had more of rubbish than dung in it. The scantiness of the latter is owing to the large quantities which a

reserved for fuel, which they make into small round cakes, and stick up on the mud walls or tatees which surround their dwellings, or on the ground, for the purpose of drying ; after which, they either take them to the market to sell, or keep them for their own use, to cook their victuals with. Much dung is also lost by their neglecting to collect them soon enough, which is thus suffered to be destroyed by worms and white ants. Hence they are never able to manure a piece of ground afresh for every expected crop. They have scarcely any idea of improving the soil, and if they had, their well known indolence would prevent their doing it. " If the ground will yield by mere ploughing and sowing, well, —if not, we cannot help it," would appear to be the maxim of every native farmer with respect to agriculture.

Their implements of husbandry are of the same fashion as existed a couple of thousand years ago, and uniform all over those parts of the country which I have visited. Their ploughs are so very small and rickety, that one would suppose they could not turn up a dozen yards of earth ; but their cattle, being inured to the drudgery, enable them to do more with them than their feebleness would promise. As they usually commence ploughing when the ground has become hard, all that they can do, at the first ploughing, is to drag the plough along almost over the surface of the earth,—an inconvenience which could easily be avoided, by going to the field a few days before the earth is hardened too much. The present mode of ploughing involves a deal of unnecessary labour, both to men and beasts, and verifies the adage, " Lazy folks take the most pains." If you ask them, " Why have you not commenced ploughing sooner ?" the answer is, " I waited for the rain to soften the ground." " And why," if you rejoin, " did you not do it before it became so hard ?" " Nobody else did it," is the answer. Now if our East Indian colonists would but just do what nobody else does, in addition to what they do, is there a shadow of doubt that they would do better than the aborigines ?

The time thus lost, would almost suffice for an extraordinary crop. But, as I was observing, the plough does not penetrate the earth more than three inches. If they attempted to elevate the shaft a couple of inches higher than usual at the first ploughing, the share would become a little more perpendicular, and run two

or three inches deeper into the ground ; but then the plough would go to pieces, or the oxen would fall down. According to the present mode, therefore, a piece of ground is not fit for sowing before it has been run through by inches in depth, at least five or six times, backwards and forwards, and transversely or crossways. It frequently happens, that they are obliged to wait for rain so long, that when it at length comes, such torrents are poured down, that the water is knee deep in the fields ere they have been once ploughed. Now if they wait till the waters are dried up, it would probably be the loss of one season, as successive showers might make things only worse. They are, therefore, obliged to subject their poor cattle and themselves to the inconvenience of ploughing in the water. When the lands have been properly puddled, they transplant the young rice plants there from a bed in which they have been previously reared for this purpose. This process is observed in reference to the *Amun dhan*. As to the *Aoos dhan*, this crop must be lost if there is not rain, as they seldom or never take the trouble to irrigate their lands. I have frequently remarked, that the cattle of the natives are pulled down the third year.

Their ploughs are made of the *babla*, or acacia tree, and costs about eight annas, including the ploughshare, and the rest of the furniture belonging to it. The share is about six inches in length, and two inches in breadth, and as thin almost as a wafer. When much work is to be accomplished, it requires to be taken to the blacksmith once a week. The other parts of the plough are of wood, and, as I have before observed, very slender. The cattle are so much used to this machine, that they creep along very much at their ease, insomuch that a lad of 10 years of age is frequently seen managing them with much convenience. Notwithstanding all this, a pair of good cattle are able to plough at one time from 10 to 12 beeghas of land with ease. They might be made to do more, and with less fatigue, were they not ploughed with at midday*.

After two or three days, they very properly repeat the ploughing of each spot, during which interval they go to such as are yet unploughed. By this method time is allowed for the last plough-

* See for further remarks on this point, the body of the *Essay*, p. 52.

ed spots to evaporate, and the moisture of their clods to be absorbed by the air ; but they return ere the clods are rendered too hard to be reduced to dust. They, however, usually commence so late, that they have not time sufficient to break the clods, either because the rains have made them too soft, or the drought too hard. In either case, it hurts the cattle much. If the ground is moist, it galls their shoulders ; if too hard, it injures their hoofs, and does not fail to make the men smart considerably. Some articles of cultivation, such as tobacco, radish, &c. require much ploughing ; but were they to commence it immediately after the last crop of rice has been reaped, and if an intermediate one could not be gained beside, the turning up of the earth betimes, would have the effect of exhausting the soil of all its evil qualities, and render successive ploughings easy.

The harrows which they use are of a piece with their ploughs. These are nothing more than small bamboo ladders, constructed, like all their other useful implements, in the simplest and rudest manner. They are of various lengths ; a piece of bamboo being split in two, four or five thinner pieces, of the length of a cubit or so each, are infixed into them cross ways, and made fast at the ends by ropes. The ladder thus prepared is united to the yoke by means of another rope of the length of five, six, or seven feet, and dragged by a couple of oxen, while a man stands on it, both with a view of giving weight to, and guiding it. The use of this machine is too well known to need to be mentioned : it is several times, for successive days, carried backwards and forwards over the ploughed ground before the clods are reduced to dust ; nor even then, for very frequently a great many of them are observed lying unbroken all over the field. If the spiky roller were introduced into the country, what a deal of time and labour might be saved ! This boon is probably reserved for the East Indians. The harrows intended for smoothing gardens, and spaces under tops of trees, are smaller, which is frequently the case, as ginger and turmeric are commonly planted in the latter of those descriptions of ground, where they not only thrive best, but the earth about the roots of trees, being in consequence of their being planted there, loosened, tends to accelerate their growth, and

make them fruitful. A new harrow is usually made once every year, at a very trifling expense.

I need not take up the reader's time with descriptions of the other few implements of husbandry in use among the natives, such as the hoe, scythe, &c. as they are to be seen in the possession of every Malee in town. They may be mentioned, should the various articles of cultivation to be treated of require it. I cannot, however, omit inviting the attention of the East Indians, in this place, to the fact of the richness of the soil of India, which, with such imperfect tools and such insufficient labour, enables its inhabitants, where other local circumstances do not prove detrimental, to live comfortably.

The following are some among the articles which occupy, in their cultivation, the principal attention of the agriculturists of this country.

Rice or Paddy, of which there are innumerable species, is the grand staple commodity of Bengal, Ourissa, and the Dukkhun, as wheat is of the western provinces. The cultivation of this article may be divided into three crops, i. e. the *amun*, the *aoos*, and the *boro*. The *aoos* is uniformly cultivated, in Bengal, the western provinces, Ourissa, and the Dukkhun, first. Its cultivation commences in the months of April and May. I have already noticed the method of ploughing adopted for the rearing of this article. The next thing attended to is the scattering of the seed, after which nothing further is done until the growth of grass, &c. renders weeding necessary. This is effected either by employing day labourers, or by forming a compact amongst themselves, the cultivators, to weed each other's fields jointly by turns. The *aoos* crop is reaped in August and September. The straw obtained from this crop is reckoned to be gross, and, notwithstanding it is supposed to be injurious to the cattle which are fed with it, it is nevertheless done; and the sale induced, by purchases for this purpose, goes a great way to pay the ground rent. This crop never falls into the hands of the Muhajun, according to a stipulation previously made: the rest share a different fate*, and usually suffices to afford the farmers food until the *amun* crop is gathered. Of late, great quantities of *aoos* land is appropriated to the cultivation of indigo, which, however it may contribute to enrich the individual and promote

* See body of the Essay, chap. Practicability of Colonization.

foreign commerce, has had the effect of raising the price of corn to a rate extremely prejudicial to the comforts of the community. This opinion might be established by the fact, that rice is cheapest where the cultivation of indigo has not been attempted. In some places, sesamum, cotton, and some other articles are cultivated in the *aoos* lands ; but this is not the general practice.

After the *aoos*, the *amun* is most frequently sown, which yields the crop that constitutes the stay of the people, and a general failure of which inevitably produces a famine. This was the case, it will be fresh in the memory of many, in the year 1808, or thereabouts, when the rice, in general use among the natives, was sold at 10 seers for the rupee. The best crops are obtained in the lowest lands, shallows or *jullas*, which retain their moisture longest ;—where, however, this disadvantage is felt, that they cannot be appropriated to the cultivation of any thing else, after the rice has been gathered ; and when, as they are very subject to it, a greater quantity of water than usual collects in them, that it does not dry up in time, it destroys the crop. It has been calculated that only one crop in three years is realized from them. When it does succeed, I have known instances when each *beegha* of land has yielded upwards of sixteen maunds of rice.

After the lands have been sufficiently ploughed, they are suffered to lie in that state until the rains have left several inches of water in the beds, which have little banks raised on all sides of them to prevent the water from running out. When the earth is become quite soaked, the beds are puddled by another ploughing, and the harrow drawn over them to level them, the water still continuing, as before, a few inches high. Now the paddy plants are removed from the higher beds, where the seed had been sown, to them. They are planted in tufts of two or three, at small distances apart from each other. Some species of the *amun* rice plants, when they are grown to a certain height, are mowed, or cropped, almost down to the roots, with a view to thicken the bushes, and thereby to secure a richer crop. To effect this, the farmers drive their cattle into the field, by whom the requisite operation is soon accomplished, and more ; for they tread down many of the plants so much, that they never revive again. The greatest part, however, answer their expectations. The other species of this rice are not suffered to be thus exposed to the teeth of the

cattle. The *amun* does not require weeding, in such places where the water is suffered to continue on the beds throughout the season. The husbandmen commence reaping in October, and finish in December. After the paddy has been cut, it is left on the beds, if there is no water, for some time ; if there is, it is removed to higher spots, and ere long conveyed to the threshing-floors, where the grain is either beaten out of the straw by being dashed against planks, or trodden out by cattle, which though it is the easiest method, injures the straw more than the other, by rendering them unfit for covering the roofs of houses. They answer for feeding cattle : in a country, however, where there is no lack of pasturage, such a use of the straw is a material loss to the husbandmen ; for, could the separation be effected without hurting the straw, it might be carried to the towns, and sold for good sums of ready money. By calculation, it appears to me, that the straw produce of one beegha of tolerable land, would more than discharge one whole year's rent of it. In fact, there is not any thing in their agriculture which falls under observation, that does not carry with it some proofs of the want of energy and judicious management among the natives.

In some places, before the *amun* arrives at perfection, pease, &c. are sown on the fields, without ploughing, of course, which grow up simultaneously with the paddy, and which, after the latter has been reaped, affords a most useful crop to the husbandman. They are not injured in the least by being trod upon during the time the paddy is cut, and they neither require weeding, nor any other process attendant on the cultivation of other things. They are plucked up when they have reached perfection, and the grain separated by being trod under foot of cattle. The most useful crop, however, next to the rice, is mustard, an article of great consumption, which in many places, succeeds the rice, both *aos* and *amun* ; most commonly the former, and the latter only when the crop is earlier than usual, the earth moist enough to admit of an easy ploughing, and water sufficiently near and abundant to afford plentiful irrigation.

It is worthy of remark, that though the lands in the eastern parts of Bengal are lowest, and subject to regular annual inundations, and though, in general, only one crop of any kind of grain is obtained from them, yet rice is cheaper there by far than else-

where*. In consequence of there being only one crop, the rent of ground there is also much less than any where else ; and in some of the districts, the Zumeendars charge no rent for a piece of ground which has never been cultivated, until it has been brought into a cultivable state : after which, for the first year, one or two annas is charged per beegha, per annum. A land under the circumstances to which it has now been brought, goes, in different districts, by different names. The second year the rent is doubled ; and the third year, which establishes the future rate, an amount seldom exceeding 8 ans. per beegha is levied. Towards the Jungul Muhals, Midnapoor, some parts of Oorissa, and nearly throughout the Dukkahun, the average amount of juma cannot be said to be more. Towards Poorneea, Deenajpoor, Rungpoor, Latoor, it is much the same. In Burdwan, Hooglee, Choubees Purgunuh, Nudaa, Moorshedabad, and other contiguous districts, the juma per beegha is seldom less than 1 rupee, in general 2 rupees, and very frequently 3 and 4 rupees per annum. Of course, the East Indian colonists should avoid these places.

With the process of cultivation and its circumstantialia, connected with the *boro*, which is the last crop of rice, I am not thoroughly acquainted, and will therefore pass over it with only one remark, the result of the only particular which has fallen under my observation ; viz. in some of the more eastern districts, this rice is planted in the latter end of December, usually on the shallow banks of rivers. I saw them in many places on both banks of the rivers, Megna, and Bruhmapootru. It is reaped in these places, and must be the case, in other places also, in May and June.

The article that, next to rice, occupies the principal share of the native husbandman's attention, is the Cupas or cotton. The lands appropriated to it need more ploughing than those in which paddy is sown. The seed is scattered without any aim at regularity or order, in consequence of which, the plants in some places grow too thick together, whilst in others very thin. In such places as they are too thick, they are thinned by plucking out some of the plants. This inconvenience is, indeed, felt in the cultivation of all the smaller grains which do not require transplantation ; and if the instrument or machine which is used in England, and in va-

* All the three kinds of rice mentioned above, are cultivated there.—ED.

rious parts of the continent of Europe, for the purpose of scattering seeds, was introduced here, it would be avoided, and much advantage experienced. May not this boon also have been reserved for the East Indians* ?

Much injury is sustained by the cotton, from want of sufficient rain on the one hand, and excess of hail on the other. When the latter is too abundant, the cotton crop totally fails. The cotton is sown in September, immediately after the *aoos* crop, and is fit to be gathered about April, which is generally done by women and children. The seeds are disengaged from the cotton by means of a pair of rollers turning in opposite directions; after which it is marketable.

There are two sorts of cotton, *Desee* and *Soortee*. The latter, a few of which I once planted along a hedge, is perennial. They attained to the height of 10 feet; and each bush, which consisted of three or four plants, yielded about a pound of very superior cotton. It seems unaccountable, unless it be with a view to gain a crop of rice before it, why, of the two descriptions of cotton, the latter should be chiefly cultivated by the farmers of this country. After my plants had ceased to bear, I cut them down to the ground; but ere long fresh plants shot up from the roots, and bore cotton which was not inferior to the first crop. I followed up this plan for three successive years, with similar result. In the fourth year they bore less, which I attribute to the little attention I had paid to them; and, indeed, they ultimately died away, as I had ceased to take any further trouble about them.

The sugar-cane is another article, which may be included in the staple commodities of Hindoosthan, that partakes a portion of the prime attention of the native cultivator, according to whose practice, the land, on which it is reared, does not require more ploughing than the lands of the articles of which I have already spoken. The upper end, or the most leafy part of the plants, having been lopped off the foregoing year, and having been preserved fresh in wet beds or excavations, either on the banks of ponds or other moist places, are taken up in the month of March following,

* Dr. Carey, in his judicious address on the subject of this Appendix, published in the 1st No. of the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India, strongly recommends improvement in the implements of the husbandry of this country, and the introduction of European ones.—ED.

and cut into pieces of about the length of six inches, each of which usually contains four or five eyes or embryos of the future stalks, and, in that state, obliquely planted, closed together, in other moist beds, and covered over with straw or some such thing, to shelter them from the heat of the sun. When the eyes begin to send forth stalks, and the cuts to take root, they are removed into the fields prepared for their reception, where they are planted in rows, three feet apart from each other, and, to prevent failure, in pairs. At the roots of the plants, or about them, some of the sediments of the oil mill, which they suppose to possess the property of preventing white ants destroying them, are scattered. The spaces between the plants, which by this time are a couple feet high, are twice ploughed up without doing them any harm : after this the lands are occasionally irrigated ; and as the plants grow higher and higher, the lowest leaves, which begin to decay, are wrapped round the bushes to which they belong, with a view to prevent them from falling down, and to keep off insects. The sugar-cane is fit to be reaped in September : only those, however, cut it so early who take the canes for sale to the bazar ; those who manufacture sugar, leave the canes standing till November. It has been calculated, that a beegha of sugar-cane, cultivated by means of day-labourers, costs from 50 to 60 rupees, which, we may reasonably suppose, is nearly the amount realized by the farmer, when he cultivates and manufactures the sugar himself.

The indigenous cane is of two sorts, the green and the purple. The former has more juice, but the latter is sweeter, and valued more than the former. Of late, a gigantic species of the purple sugar-cane has been introduced, probably from the Carnatic, which is cultivated chiefly on the eastern banks of the Hooglee, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. This species yields, comparatively, less juice than either of the others ; but its magnitude would demand the preference. As yet, I am not aware that a sufficient quantity of it is cultivated to admit of manufacturing sugar out of it : if it were, I have no reason to doubt that it would yield as good sugar as any of the others. They are brought to the bazars and markets of Calcutta, and sold in their natural state. Moist lands invariably create worms in the sugar-cane. High spots, therefore, are usually selected for their cultivation ; not however too high, for that again prevents their arriving at a tolerable height, though they are

not the less sweet or delicate for being shorter than they would otherwise be. The *urhur*, to which they ascribe the virtue of keeping out vermin, is generally sown round the sugar-cane fields. Jackalls, foxes, hares, and porcupines do considerable damage, in some parts of the country, in the cane fields.

To the above may be added, the plantain, a very useful article, and the cultivation of which deservedly occupies much of the care and attention of the farmer. The following are the different species which are cultivated of this fruit. The *chumpa*, the *cheeneechumpa*, the *murtwan*, the *chatganee*, or, as it is called by the Bengalees, *chatim*, the *ramkela*, the *kuchkela*, the *kuthalee*, and the *beejakela*, which derives its nomenclature from the great quantity of stones, of the size of a peppercorn, that are in them, and for which reason it is not only reckoned to be indifferent, but cultivated to a very small extent ; in general only a few bushes are planted in each field, and that not so much on account of the fruit as the leaves of it. The *ramkela*, the prettiest and best flavoured, is never cultivated by the farmers : those that are to be met with are found in the gardens of respectable individuals. Its not being cultivated by the farmers is owing to superstition, it being one of those things, the cultivation of which has never obtained among their ancestors ; and the departure, therefore, from this ancestral practice, or rather, non-practice, would involve a direct violation of one of the maxims which has received credit among them, that they must do nothing, or it is dangerous to do any thing, which their ancestors have not done. It is obvious, however, that this superstition is wearing away fast ; and many things which have been introduced by foreigners into the country, and which the natives have not scrupled to adopt, might be mentioned in confirmation of this assertion ; but I conceive it is unnecessary. A single bunch of the *ramkela*, fetches more in the bazar than half a dozen of any other species.

The *murtwan* is generally believed to be the native of Dhaka ; but there is reason to suspect it is not the case ; it is more probable that it comes from a country of its own name, Martaban. The shell of this plantain, which is very thick, retains a considerable portion of the green colour, even when quite ripe : if, however, they are kept in straw, which is sometimes done for the purpose of ripening them, they become perfectly yellow. The flavour of it

approaches much to that of the *ramkela*. When it is ripe, it becomes too soft, and when not quite ripe it is very astringent: these defects, if they will be so called, however, are compensated for by the agreeableness of its taste. It is not cultivated in the interior of the country: the few bushes of it which we see, are in the gardens and fields, in the immediate vicinities of Calcutta, usually on both banks of the river. It is rarely to be met with in the bazar, though not so scarce as the *ramkela*.

The *chumpa*, of both species, is very common; the bazars teem with it. I have seen bunches of it so very large, as to require two coolies to carry one of them. When ripe, it has a very agreeable yellow colour, and pleasant flavour. This, as well as the *beejakela*, will grow and thrive any where, and that almost without any manner of culture. The *chumpa* is also not cultivated in the interior. The *chatganee* is yellow when ripe, and much larger than any of the species yet noticed, excepting the *beejakela*. It is cheap, and probably on that account the natives give it the preference to those already mentioned. In some respects, I am inclined to think, it is better than the *chumpa*; but then it requires a longer time to ripen, and very often, though the shell is quite yellow, the pulp is disagreeably astringent. In the cold season, the pulp is full of lumps of a hard consistence, which render it both uneatable and unwholesome: it is best during the hot season. The *kuthalee* (so termed from the fancy of the natives, which resembles its taste to that of the *kathal*, jack,) is cultivated all over the country, and in the largest quantities, but very unaccountably; for the *chumpa* is far superior, and bears an equal, and more than equal number of fruits. The *kuthalee*, in consequence of its abundancy, is the cheapest. I have often seen upwards of twenty sell for one pice. When it is suffered to arrive at perfection, it might be allowed to possess as rich a flavour as either the *chumpa* or *chatganee kela*: some give it the preference. The great mart for this, as well as several other species of the plantain, is Bydabatee. The multitudes of boats that are laden with it for the Calcutta markets would scarcely appear credible. These are generally green, but they are afterwards ripened by artificial means. Great quantities are also exported to the above-mentioned markets from Chakda and Sookh Sagur.

The *kuchkela*, which is never suffered to get ripe, is most prized by the natives, on account of its being adapted for use as a cu-

linary vegetable. The fields exhibit this and the last mentioned species in the greatest abundance. The *kuchkela* is of two species, the triangular, which, though less in size, and containing less edible substance, is better in quality than the other, which is pentangular in shape. The *kuchkela* is one of those few articles of food which their circumscribing religion allows the Hindoos the use of. I am of opinion that it is a very valuable fruit, as it may be used in lieu of bread, if properly prepared; though where wheat is procurable, I would give bread the preference. They taste well, both when fried and dressed up with fish curries, or in other such shapes: in short, it is a very wholesome vegetable. The bunches these trees bear are by no means so large as those which those of any of the other species bear; but the fruits are larger: the largest ones I have seen, measured nearly a foot in length, and two inches in diameter.

The grounds selected for the cultivation of the article, the different species of which I have just been briefly describing, are rather elevated, and such as have lain waste for some time, or have had a deep coat of earth, dug out of old tanks, spread over them. I have not known a single instance of land, intended for it, manured by any other means: and unless a fresh coat of earth is thrown in the field, it never thrives more than four years on the same spot. After the ground has been indifferently ploughed a couple of times, the young plants are set in regular rows, at the distance of eight or nine feet from each other, which is done between the months of May and September, but chiefly in the last month, because at that time the superfluous upsets are dug up to make room for those which are to remain about the parent tree. If too many sprouts are permitted to remain about the parent, they never acquire a proper size, and consequently bear but indifferent fruit: moreover, the parent tree is considerably injured. Only two of the upsets, one on each side of the parent, are therefore suffered to remain. As one tree never bears fruit more than once, it is cut down after the fruits have come to perfection. Of the four years in which the plantain is cultivated on one spot, the products of the second and third years are best: in the fourth year its quality begins to decline. After the tree that has borne fruit is cut down, the root of it is suffered to remain in the ground till the month of October, when the earth is ploughed up, and the roots dug

up. In the month of August, the earth is scraped away, by means of a hoe or *kodalee*, from about the foot of the plant, and placed in mounds in the middle of the space between each row, and replaced in its former position some time afterwards.

There is scarcely a part of this plant which is not turned to some useful purpose or other by the natives. 1. The fruit; the uses of which need no mention. 2. The green leaves; which supply the place, first, of plates and dishes:—hence plates and dishes, and even cups and saucers, of all descriptions, whether made of stone, metal, earth, or wood, are called *pottro*, which is the name, in the native language, of leaves in general. Secondly, of paper, as the papyrus which grew on the banks of the Nile supplied the place of it to the Egyptians, &c.—hence letters, &c. are called *pottro*. At present, the use of it for the purposes of writing is confined to schools; but it is not at all unlikely, that before the invention of paper it was more general. And thirdly, of covering or envelope to various articles, such as sugar, salt, betel, flowers, &c. for which purpose it is brought into the market longitudinally divided, and rolled up in bundles containing twenty pieces each. On this head it may be remarked, that the practice of divesting the trees of their uppermost leaves, which the natives indulge in, is detrimental to their growth. 3. The dry leaves which hang down about the trunk, are cut off, and sold in bundles at the bazar for fuel. 4. The pith, which is used as vegetable for food. 5. The fructification, or *mocha*, which is likewise used as vegetable. And 6. The roots, or rather the bulbous parts of the trees which have been cut down, and which, as observed before, remain in the earth till October, are burnt, after being dried in the sun, and the ashes sold to the washermen, who use it in bleaching clothes. The roots of the *kuthalee*, *kuchkela*, and *chatganee*, are reckoned to be best for this purpose, on account of their possessing a greater degree of astringency than the rest.

A more useful tree than the plantain can scarcely be conceived. To what a variety of purposes the different parts of it are applied. But equal to its utility, are the profits derivable from it. A field of plantains of the extent of 8 or 10 beeghas, affords ample means of support to the cultivator. The daily vend of the several parts above enumerated fetches eight annas: to the correctness of this, I can vouch my own experience.

It is not, however, exempt from misfortunes. A heavy shower of hail destroys the prospects of the cultivator for a couple years. The East Indian colonists should not exclusively appropriate any spot to the cultivation of this article : any small waste patch of ground would answer well, and perhaps best. The high banks of tanks, which are entirely neglected by the natives, would afford superior crops of plantains. Every creek and cranny should be planted with it.

The last of those articles which occupy the chief attention of the native farmer, which I shall mention, is the tobacco, the amazing consumption of which, all over the world, is incredible. I am aware that East India is not the only place where it is produced, and that in America, as well as in other quarters of the globe, great quantities of it are also cultivated ; but I refer to the curious fact of its having become, in a short time, such a favourite of the world. In Europe, the use of tobacco was unknown before the discovery of the new world, *where*, we are told by Robertson, the credulity of the people not only ascribed a thousand imaginary virtues to the use of it, " but their superstition considered the plant itself as a gracious gift of the gods, for the solace of human kind, and the most acceptable offering which man can present to heaven." Lane and his associates introduced it in England. In India, but particularly in Bengal, an acquaintance with the use of it is acquired from childhood by the natives, and it is a luxury without which they cannot absolutely do. That under such circumstances, even the use of it by Europeans here and abroad did not superinduce the necessity of a more extensive cultivation, it should share much of the native farmer's attention, is not a matter of surprise.

It is said, that nothing else of consequence will arrive at perfection in tobacco lands. However this be, the preparing of the land is attended with unusual labour. It must be dug or ploughed deeper for it than for any other article of cultivation, and must be literally reduced to dust. The ploughing commences in July, and is not finished before the end of August. Between those months, the seed is cast in a small elevated bed, after which the surface of the earth is beat down. When the plants have arrived at the height of four or five inches, they are removed to the fields, and planted at a short distance from each other in rows. When the plants are about

one foot high, the tender stalks are nipped off between the nails, with a view to cause all the moisture which the plants draw from the earth to flow into the leaves, which are left on the stem, and which are seldom more than six. This nipping off of the stalks or scions is repeated as often as they make their appearance ; at the same time the lands are kept clear of weeds, and plentifully irrigated. In such spots where the water lodges for any length of time, or such as are more moist than others, the tobacco leaves become shrivelled, and acquire a pale green colour, both which are symptoms of inferiority of crop. On the contrary, when the leaves are broad, thick, of a dark green colour, and the spaces between the veins considerably swollen, they are signs of a good crop. The leaves are fit for being removed when they become crisp, and break with a noise when doubled close. The first crop consists of the lowest leaves, which are broken off as they begin to change colour, and are suffered to lie on the ground for two or three days, and then removed to be dried in the sun. This mode of drying the leaves is prejudicial to their quality, and hence the first crop is always very indifferent. The second crop is reaped in January. The plants are cut down, and undergo a similar process of curing as the leaves of the first crop, which, therefore, is not much superior to it. The tobacco of Bengal is not so good as that of the Upper Provinces. The best tobacco in India is produced at Chunar, or rather Chundal or Choonargurh ; as in America, the best tobacco is produced at Cuba. There is another sample of equally good quality, and, perhaps, superior, found on the coast of Coromandel, called *bundamoorlunka*. There is another very curious species of tobacco, partially cultivated, at Jusur*, the leaves of which are round, and the flowers more abundant and larger : it is ten times stronger than any I am acquainted with, and not subjected by its cultivators to the process of treatment which the tobacco of other parts undergoes, nor are the scions taken away as in them.

It would prove an endless task to treat individually of the various articles which are cultivated by the native farmers : it is not necessary ; nor would the limits I have been under the necessity of prescribing to this portion of my task admit of it. Some of the articles which share the principal attention of the farmer in their cultivation, I have, as far as my knowledge of them went,

* It is also cultivated farther eastward.—ED.

submitted to the notice of the reader. It is upon these especially, that the East Indian colonists will have to depend, next to their live stock, for the comfortable support of themselves and families.

A variety of other things of less value is cultivated by the native farmers; but these generally comprise the second and third crops, and are very carelessly attended to. They would undoubtedly thrive better under the care of the East Indian colonists. Some of them we may just run over. Ginger, garlic, onions, turmeric, and chillies, may be mentioned together, as nearly the same mode of cultivation is observed in reference to them. The two former, according to the plan of the natives, only require to be committed to the ground, to secure a crop of each. After the ground has been moderately ploughed, trenches of the depth of three inches are dug, in which, in the month of August, the roots are laid, and covered over with a couple hands-full of dust. As the plants grow up, the earth raised from the trenches are replaced with some additional earth from the space between the rows. This treatment is also observed with respect to potatoes of both sorts, with several species of the *arum* (*kuchchoo*,) &c. I met with considerable success in rearing the chilly in a similar manner. The melons, cucumbers, and all other creepers undergo the treatment observed with regard to the commoner articles of cultivation, which are comprised in the second and third crops. If they are now and then watered, and the earth about their roots kept loose, such is the native richness of the soil, that they are generally turned to very good account. One species of the onion, however, requires a little more than ordinary labour. After the land has undergone the process of ploughing, it is divided into beds of ten feet square, into which, after having been sufficiently puddled with plenty of water, the plants are removed from the nursery. Hereafter the earth is kept well weeded and loosened, and now and then irrigated. This onion is the best, being more full-bodied and richer in quality than others.

The *sun* and *pat*, from which rope, twine, &c. are manufactured, require simply the seed to be thickly scattered; and the closer the plants are to each other, the more delicate is their bark. The flower of the former, and the leaves of the latter, make very good curry. The *sun* is cut down while in blossom, as the fibres then

are tender, and will admit of fine twine being spun out of them. Only so much is left standing as will yield a sufficiency of seed. After the plants are cut down, they are tied into bundles of one foot in diameter, and planted in ponds with their heads a little above water. After a couple days they are turned upside down. In the space of four days they are taken out, and the fibres separated, either by being beaten with the stock of a cocoa-nut leaf, or on the surface of the water, and put in the sun to dry. They are then packed up in bales, for sale, &c.

From the above detail of facts, the following conclusions are warranted. 1st. That the natives are very indolent. This remark has been more than once anticipated before; but there is no objection to repeating it here. It is difficult to say what may have contributed to form this feature of the native character, unless the hint thrown out in a previous part of the essay be admitted, that such is the rich luxuriance of the soil of the country, that little labour is necessary to secure a sufficiency of means for the support of life. To this may be added another reason, that there is little incentive to industry under the indolent and injurious system adopted by *zumeendars*, of renting their *talooks* to a second person, and that second to a third, and so on; which, while each but the last never makes the transfer without an unreasonably exorbitant profit, renders it necessary that the last should look to the quarter, the *ryots*, from whence the whole of the means of the profit of so many must be derived besides his own. The consequences are high rent and oppressive exactions; and it is impossible that under such circumstances there can be any motive to activity. 2. That great improvements are necessary, both in the implements and modes of cultivation in vogue among the natives. And 3, and lastly, That if the East Indian colonists are industrious, and will adopt improved methods and implements of culture, there is no reason why they should not prosper.

THE END.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Owing to the pages of the Essay having much exceeded the number originally intended to be given, it cannot possibly be bound in boards, as was proposed in the Prospectus, without additional charge ; it will therefore be issued stitched.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CONNECTED WITH

THE EAST INDIANS'

TECHNOSTILYUA

ERRATA.

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- Page 41 line 1 for "actuates," read "which actuates."
" 49 " 20, 21 *dele* " without which."
" 79 " 11 for "there," read "therefore."
" 110 " 24 " "necessary," read "unnecessary."
" 127 " 11 " "been better," read "been thought better"
" 136 " 4 " "their," read "the."
" 146 " 20 " "spun yarn," read "spun into yarn."
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East Indians' Petition Committee.

Messrs. WALE BYRN,

WM. BYRN,

C. F. BYRN,

W. DACOSTA,

H. L. Y. DEROZIO,

P. D'MELLO,

G. R. GARDENER,

Messrs. J. J. L. HOFF,

H. MARTINDELL

H. PALMER,

C. POTE,

J. W. RICKETTS,

AND

W. STURMER.

Secretary,—MR. H. PALMER.

At a public Meeting held at the Town Hall, by Advertisement, on Monday the 28th of March 1831, for the purpose of receiving the Report of Mr. J. W. Ricketts, the Agent of the East Indians, just returned from his deputation with their Petition to the British Parliament.

On the motion of Mr. Wale Byrn, seconded by Mr. J. Wood, Mr. W. M. Woollaston was unanimously voted to the Chair; when, after some prefatory observations on his part, explaining the object of the Meeting, he called upon the Secretary to the East Indians' Petition Committee to read Mr. Ricketts's Report; at whose request, Mr. J. A. Lorimer proceeded to fulfil the task.

The reading of the Report was frequently interrupted by loud bursts* of unanimous applause; after which, Mr. A. HEBERLET rose, and addressed the Meeting to the following effect:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—The very full and interesting Report, which has this day been read to us, must have satisfied every one who has listened to it, that Mr. Ricketts, in the arduous mission so readily undertaken by him, has ably and creditably fulfilled all those expectations, which the most sanguine minds may have entertained when he left his native land, deputed by his suffering countrymen, to ask on their behalf, from the wisdom and justice of the Parliament of Great Britain, for remedies calculated to remove disabilities under which they have long unfortunately laboured.

Mr. Ricketts's zeal for the advancement of our best interests, has for years past held him prominently forth as a gentleman meriting much of our commendation and gratitude; and from what he has latterly done, no dispassionate mind, I am convinced, will refuse to accord to him the just meed of being ranked at the head of our class. In saying so much, I am satisfied I do not overrate his talents or exertions: they are, indeed, above all praise. We certainly have not yet experienced the fruits of his endeavours to meliorate our condition; but it is to be hoped, after the part he has so ably taken, and the reception he so happily met with in England, as well as from the disposition that has of late been manifested, both by the local Government and by the Home Authorities, for the welfare and happiness of all classes com-

posing the population of India, that the time is not far distant when all that we now complain of as disabilities, odious in themselves, and incompatible with our descent, will at once be removed. Even if they are not, Mr. Ricketts has a strong and undeniable claim upon his countrymen at large, which must for ever excite in his favour their warmest and most heart-felt gratitude. In personally assuring that gentleman, who has done a great deal for us, that his countrymen and their posterity can never forget the extent or importance of his labours in their cause, I beg to propose, that the Report of his proceedings, which future generations will peruse with the same interest and satisfaction that we have this day felt, in listening to it, be approved, and printed for general information.

Mr. Heberlet then proposed the first Resolution, as follows:—

That the Report now read, be adopted and printed, for general information.

Mr. W. KIRKPATRICK, in seconding this Resolution, observed that it was quite unnecessary for him to recommend the motion to the support of the Meeting, as they had already repeatedly expressed their approbation of the Report. He would, however, take the opportunity to express his feelings on the occasion,—expressions which would be merely an echo of the feelings of the Meeting. He could not but feel the highest satisfaction at witnessing the perfect unanimity which pervaded the Meeting, as contrasted with some differences on a former occasion, which he did not wish to remember. He had heard the assertion, that East Indians could not be unanimous, and he blushed for those who made it; and were the feelings of the Meeting other than what he had witnessed, he should blush for them and for himself. But he felt there was no ground for shame; on the contrary, he rejoiced in perceiving that they were one. He would not make any particular remarks on the Report. The Meeting had heard of the manner in which Mr. Ricketts was received in England by men of influence who merited their thanks; and no one could regard, but with execration, the conduct of persons in a certain quarter. The best thanks which East Indians could render to their friends and supporters in England, would be the earnest prosecution of their rights, by which it would be made evident that they were worthy of the privileges which they claimed. Had the Report informed them of complete success, the Meeting would not have been of a deliberative kind; they would have only to share in a triumph. Something has been done; but there was yet much to accomplish. By their unanimity and their earnestness, they would oblige their friends to plead more earnestly for their rights,—which not all the efforts of their enemies could withhold from them. The East Indians

sue for no favour; they do not seek to be elevated above their fellow-citizens; they only demand to be placed upon an equality with them; they claim their rights. Mr. Kirkpatrick concluded by saying that, overcome by his feelings, he could not venture to speak any longer, however willing he might be to address them on so interesting a subject.

Mr. C. POTE then proposed the second Resolution, as follows:—

That a review of the proceedings of our Agent in England, confirms this Meeting in the firm persuasion, that all that unwearied exertion, devoted zeal, and unshaken attachment to the cause, could have effected, has been done for promoting the success of the East Indians' Petition, and generally the interests of the East Indian Community, in England.

In doing so, he observed, that, in order to understand fully the nature and value of Mr. Ricketts's exertions, it was necessary to take a transient view of the grievances and disqualifications, from which it was the object of those exertions to release Indo-Britons. Those grievances and disqualifications were comprehended in the Petition, that had, through the delegate, been sent up to Parliament. However some might object, that there were various errors in that document, (though he could never concede this point,) yet all must concur, that a great mass of injurious or inefficient legislation was there truly described; of a nature so oppressive, that he would not hesitate to say, that its operation upon any class of men, however barbarous, or destitute of knowledge, or sensibility, would be to degrade that class below what the vilest barbarism or ignorance could effect; for it would degrade them below their self-esteem, and this was left for the support even of the rudest savages. The particulars of their grievances they would find embodied in their Petition; the effects of them they felt in every act of doing and suffering, and in every moment of their lives, as surrounding them with the disgrace and obloquy that always attend legal disqualification; and he said it with truth, and with grief proportioned to the truth of the remark, that a body of men, against whom no offence could be charged, and who stood in many ways in the relation of consanguinity to Britons, were, while under the protection of the noblest, freest, and most enlightened government of the modern and ancient world, visited, by the concurrence of the British people, with such contumely and scorn, as was seldom the lot of the most infamous guilt.

This was shortly the condition of Indo-Britons; and from this it had been the labour of Mr. Ricketts's life, by every effort he could make, to extricate them. He would, however, call their attention, at present, to the last exertion of this description which Mr. Ricketts had made, as it would bear them out in supporting the Resolution it was his (Mr. Pote's) business to submit.

At a period of life when most men are immoveably fixed in the places of their birth, or of long and familiar abode, surrounded by the ties of family connections, dissuaded by all the natural considerations of ease, of social friendship and domestic love, and bound too to the spot by the engagements of business and of property, this lover of his country shook from him every motive that would have influenced other minds; and leaving ease, pleasure, and business behind him, boldly adventured to a foreign land, to the hazards of a strange climate, to the labours of an undertaking vast, absorbing, and intricate almost beyond comprehension; and this in the solitude and dreariness of strange society, far from the sympathies and consolations of the circle from which he had been wont to draw his joys. What mind, said the speaker, can perfectly comprehend or appreciate such self-sacrifice? It is fair, in estimating the character of human efforts, to inquire how many have appeared capable of the same performance. Regarding the act of Mr. Ricketts in this view, we see him placed in a proud and peculiar station, won by the grandeur and virtue of the great motives that inspired him, and the self-devotion he exhibited. Nor was this all. The Meeting learned by the Report just read, that the conduct of the business he undertook, was, through its course, in all respects suited to the high merit of its adoption. Every labour, every difficulty was cheerfully encountered; alone, and surrounded by the subtleties of a court, by the opposition of the proud, and the negligence of the indifferent, his tenacious and faithful mind could be neither diverted, nor subdued. He was found persevering in his efforts to animate the sluggish, recall the faithless, and convert the hostile; to his personal efforts, they must attribute all that they recognize as favorable to the success of their cause; and looking at him thus, invested with the highest qualifications, and as one who has brought those qualifications to bear for their service, they could not refuse their heartiest and unanimous consent to the terms of the Resolution he had just had the honor to submit.

Mr. Pote next adverted to the Report, which he said, while it bore testimony to the labours and abilities of the delegate, yet appeared to him to indicate no such approach to the desired point as ought to be satisfactory. Every thing evinced the necessity of repeated and strenuous exertions. He earnestly recommended renewed efforts. There was no dependence to be placed on the smiles of courtiers, no faith in the promises of Lords, who were proverbial for the facility of making and breaking a pledge; but, indeed, none in this case could be of any service to the cause but themselves; and in this, as in most earthly concerns, there was no reliance so sure and infallible as that reposed in the perseverance and activity of the parties concerned. If, said Mr. Pote, we unremittingly, zealously, and firmly persevere in our exer-

tions, following the example of our respected delegate, we must succeed; for when did industry and perseverance fail in their efforts? Even in the purposes of the base and the bad, the efficacy of these qualities are well understood. What, then, have we not to hope, who are acting for interests and objects, in favor of which all the best feelings and affections of universal human nature are enlisted? In every uncorrupted soul, we shall meet a warm coadjutor; and the combined sense of mankind must triumph.

Mr. J. WELSH, in seconding Mr. Pote's motion, spoke as follows:—

Mr. CHAIRMAN,—I beg leave to second the motion; and after the very eloquent and glowing speech we have just heard, I need not say that I cannot but rise with great reluctance to venture a few observations of my own. Mr. Pote has taken so wide, and, in my humble opinion, so correct a view of the entire case connected with the East Indians' Petition, that I feel happy at being relieved from the necessity I should otherwise have labored under, of taking a retrospective survey of the particular circumstances which were considered to require the deputation of Mr. Ricketts to England, as a measure of indispensable necessity. I cannot, however, refrain from doing an act of simple justice to the gentlemen of the East Indians' Petition Committee, and their active and zealous friends and supporters, who appear to me to have been actuated throughout by the sincerest and most laudable desire to improve the condition and prospects of the community to which they belong, and of which they have proved themselves to be most worthy and patriotic members. In their choice of Mr. Ricketts to be the bearer of their Petition, and to express their sentiments before the Legislature, I believe I merely express the opinion of every individual present, when I say that they selected one whose whole soul had long been devoted to his country—one whose well-known public character afforded the surest earnest of his doing all that the "patriot's fire" can urge a man to do in a laudable and patriotic undertaking.

If there be any who might feel disposed to cavil with this decision, and require to be shown some specific beneficial result—the attainment of some positive good, or the mitigation of some positive evil,—I can only say, that they are unreasonably sanguine—they would overleap all difficulties, and attain the end, without considering the means by which it can alone be possibly arrived at. If there should be any individual so unjust, or so weak, as thus tacitly to acknowledge their inability to judge of the means, while the end remains yet to be developed, I am not utterly hopeless of being able to convince even such, that they have no tenable ground for dissatisfaction at the result, as far as it goes, of Mr. Ricketts's mission. Let them, for a moment,

consider the difficulties which beset that gentleman at every step. The most formidable impediment in his way, though a passive one, was the proverbial indifference of the British public to questions of Indian policy—an indifference naturally arising from the unceasing contemplation of distress at home, and disaffection in a sister isle—add to this the powerful tide of prejudice which has so long and so uninterruptedly been suffered to overflow the land, from its well-known fountain in Leadenhall Street, poisoning the recipients and sources of information in its course;—consider these difficulties, I say, and none, I am sure, will refuse to give Mr. Ricketts credit for at least energy of mind in venturing, single-handed, into the field; as Mr. Pote has so forcibly observed, in undertaking to interest a listless Legislature in behalf of his constituents, and attempting to expose in the broad light of day, and in their true colors, the hollow pretences, and illiberal prejudices, which have hitherto had the effect of retaining an enlightened and rapidly increasing class of subjects of the British Crown, in a state of “civil outlawry,” if I may be allowed to use the strong and uncontradicted expression of Sir James Mackintosh, in the House of Commons, on the presentation of the East Indians’ Petition.

That Mr. Ricketts succeeded in triumphing over the apathy of the British Statesman and Legislator, the Report we have just heard abundantly testifies. Public men shook off their habitual lethargy, and bestowed a degree of patient investigation into the statements of the Petition, which could scarcely have been expected. The Board of Control and the Court of Directors heard—in silence heard—the distant appeal for justice, and, it is to be hoped, pondered on the novel circumstance, with every wish to relieve those whom not a single member of either of those bodies dared to deny having hitherto suffered to remain in their native land, in a state of *civil outlawry*! Thus far then, the progress of the Petition was as favorable as could have been anticipated. What will be done eventually, in the shape of redress, remains yet to be seen. But here ends Mr. Ricketts’s responsibility; and, I believe, we may safely say, that he has *done his duty*.

It is to be regretted, that the dissolution of Parliament took place at the time it did; and that the all-engrossing interest excited in England, in consequence of the late glorious events in France, and the still deep and breathless interest, which England must continue to feel, in watching the aspect of continental politics, should render it more than likely, that the present Parliament, harassed by more immediately important calls on its attention, will be unable to devote that patient investigation into the merits of the India Question, which the approaching period of the Charter’s expiration so imperatively demands. What modified relation the East India Company will bear

to this country, remains to be developed ; but we may depend upon it, that the state of the country, and the character and prospects, not only of the East Indian community, but of the entire native population, will advance and brighten, or sink and retrograde, in proportion as the benign spirit of genuine philanthropy, or the demon of insolent despotism, shall preponderate in dictating or swaying any changes that may be made in the judicial and commercial characters of the Company. That the spirit of philanthropy may prevail, who does not wish ? who does not fervently hope ? but that the blight of despotism may wither that hope, who is exempt from apprehending ? Under such circumstances, it is impossible to anticipate the final result of the East Indians' Petition with any confidence. As far as Mr. Ricketts is concerned, I feel happy at being able to avow my honest conviction, that he has discharged the trust reposed in him with credit to himself, and honor to his country ; but the Petition itself, launched on the troubled sea of politics, and at a time when the atmosphere of Europe would portend a storm, must, in some measure, be left to seek its own harbour. It is

— “ like a weed,

Flung from the rock, on ocean's foam to sail,

Where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail.”

From what I have said, it is not to be inferred, that I would advise East Indians to relax in their exertions. Far from it ; they have put their shoulders to the wheel, and must carry through the work they have commenced. They must smile, in their turn, at the deceitful and alluring smiles of courtiers,—those smiles, whose hollow fascination has been so felicitously lashed by Mr. Pote ; and, upheld by the justice of their cause, persevere in their exertions, until they witness the substantial fruition of their wishes. My conviction, however, is, that, if the East Indians' Petition should ultimately meet with no redress, (for what is not possible in the fluctuating world of politics ?) Mr. Ricketts cannot be made fairly chargeable with any such unfortunate issue. But the Petition cannot fail ; for the pride of the Lawyer and the Statesman will not suffer any acknowledged legal abuses to exist, without an effort to remedy them ; will not hear of a body of men existing without the pale of any acknowledged code of civil laws, without endeavouring to supply the deficiency. The wants of a *legal nature* of the East Indians, will be supplied in some shape or other ; and it is to be hoped that the enlightened spirit of the age will at length cause the removal of all political disabilities also.

It is absurd to see our rulers starting at shadows of their own creation. I should conceive that their ridiculous jealousy must, by this time, be worn perfectly threadbare, and cannot survive much longer. And then the eternal and unmeaning objection of “ incapacity

city." Good God ! and is it come to this—that every school-boy now-a-days should possess the ability to put our high and mighty legislators to the blush, by telling them that *man labors not without some motive* ; that the objection of incapacity is the objection to a circumstance that is merely the effect of the past ineligibility of East Indians to offices of emolument and trust under the Government ? Are our youth less precocious than the youth of any other country ? Are their souls less capable of expansion, under the lofty and generous impulses of rectitude and honor ? I challenge the most inveterately prejudiced to adduce the slightest shadow of reason in support of any charges of so foul and scandalous a character. Widen the field for the employment of our youth—throw open the services to them—suffer them to qualify themselves in their native land for the creditable discharge of the duties of any situation under Government ;—do this, and the objection of *incapacity* will immediately become a byeword ;—do this, and, encouraged by the possibility and hope of arriving at affluence and honor in their native land, East Indians will not be long in practically illustrating that excellence *must* follow the *inducement* to excel. Hold out but this incentive to exertion ; and it will be followed by the establishment of colleges and universities in the country, to assist in producing a greater development of mind, and for the training of youth to discharge the duties of the most arduous and responsible situations under Government. An immense advantage would thence accrue both to the governors and the governed. To the governors, as placing at their disposal the appropriation, in any manner, of the intellect of the country, and the employment of as much honesty and talent as they might find occasion to draw for upon the community, at an expense infinitely short of what is incurred by the maintenance of the present clumsy machinery, for the exclusive importation of British youth,—and the governed would benefit in having the dearest interests of the country placed under the watchful vigilance of those who, as children of the soil, could not fail to be feelingly alive to her welfare, and to devote their constant and undistracted attention to the best means within their power of advancing the prosperity and happiness of their native land.

I must apologize, Mr. Chairman, for having trespassed so long on your attention ; and I thank you, Sir, and the gentlemen present, for the patience with which I have been heard. I need scarcely repeat that I do most heartily second the motion of my worthy and eloquent friend.

The Resolution having been carried by acclamation, Mr. RICKETTS rose ; and, when the loud and continued cheering with which he was received, had subsided, he spoke as follows :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—After the loud and reiterated plaudits, with which you have just cheered me on my rising to address you on this very interesting occasion, I fear I shall only disappoint the expectations which you may have formed. At this moment, I labor under the disadvantage of a rather weak state of bodily health, which disqualifies me, in some measure, from expressing myself in the way I could wish ; but, after the frequent reiteration of my name at this Meeting, in a way of eulogy and praise, which must be so gratifying to my best feelings as a man, I should stand chargeable with a death-like insensibility of soul, were I to remain silent, and not make even a feeble attempt to give utterance to what I feel on this happy occasion. On the ground of my simple and straight-forward exertions in a public cause; in which I have acted as your Agent in England, I thought I could at least lay a fair claim to your honest approbation ; but I now see that the tables have been turned against me. The state of the case is now completely reversed. Instead of your owing me an obligation for my past services, you have laid me under a debt of gratitude to you, for the very handsome manner in which you have been pleased to express yourselves towards me on this occasion ; and this I feel proud to own as an ample reward for all my personal sacrifices, and for all my past exertions for the public good of our community.

Gentlemen, it is now within a few weeks of two years since I last had the pleasure of meeting you in this hall, on the subject of our Petition to Parliament, when you did me the honor to repose so much confidence in my zeal for our common cause, as to select me as your Agent for deputation on a most important mission to England. At that time, some few of our countrymen kept aloof from our proceedings, on account of a difference of opinion on certain minor points arising out of the matter : but methinks I now see their faces in the room ; and we may, perhaps, not unreasonably count upon them as decided converts to our public cause. I truly rejoice in the fact, and shall be first and foremost to give them the right hand of fellowship, and welcome them to a full participation of our counsels and deliberations. Unanimity of conduct in public matters, is no less important than desirable amongst us ; and I am glad to have now returned to you to see this change.

Gentlemen, an allusion has been made, and very fairly and properly so, by a gentleman who has preceded me in addressing you, to the receptive smiles of courtiers and public men. I am aware of much anger arising to our cause from too implicit a reliance upon the smiles and promises of the great, as they are called ; and I will also show that the duplicity of public men is quite proverbial, and, therefore, to be guarded against ; but I still think that I have made no

mistake on this head. (*Here Mr. Pote rose to explain that he meant no personal allusion to individuals.*) I am pretty well hackneyed in the ways of official men, to know what they are capable of; but, in the face of this avowal, I still act on the principle of taking every man to be honest and sincere, until I discover something in him like double-dealing or crookedness of purpose. Precisely on this principle, too, the English law regards every man innocent, until he is proved to be guilty; and just so, I gave every official man in England credit for fair dealing and common honesty, until I saw some good reason to change my opinion. In this way, I was soon able to distinguish between friends and foes; that is, between those who were friendly, and those who were hostile to our cause: and here I must say that the general mass of public feeling, even among public men, was decidedly in our favor, with the exception of, perhaps, some two or three persons connected with the India House; but we need fear nothing from them. They are but men "whose breath is in their nostrils, and whose thoughts will perish in the very day of their death." They will die and pass away into the gulph of oblivion; while public opinion must gain ground, and the cause of truth, reason, and justice ultimately prevail. Our cause is one involving the very dignity of human nature; and the man who sets himself up in opposition to it, becomes his own enemy by sinking himself in the scale of moral excellence. After all, what is the objection to East Indians being emancipated from civil and political thralldom, and placed in a right position towards their rulers? It is a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence, apart from all moral and statesman-like considerations. It is a question of East India patronage in the hands of a few, who jealously protect and guard it against every thing like encroachment. But we are to expect nothing from this quarter; we must look to the Legislature for the concession of our just rights; and here we have those who will not shrink from their duty. Amongst our other friends, who took so laudable an interest in advocating our cause in the House of Commons, we may fairly reckon upon Lord Ashley, who, though he felt himself restrained from presenting our Petition, as he originally intended, yet, I can assure this Meeting, has not abated in his laudable desire to promote our cause on public grounds. His Lordship is still as warm-hearted an advocate for the abolition of our civil and political disabilities, as he was before the sudden turn of affairs, to which I have just alluded. In this respect, Lord Ashley stands pre-eminent, and deserves our warmest thanks. I think it the more necessary to state this publicly and openly, lest you might suppose that I was duped by an undue stress laid by me on the smiles and promises of courtiers.

I fear, Gentlemen, I have detained you too long on the subject, especially after my full and detailed Report to our Committee, as read

before you this morning; and now what shall I say in conclusion? I feel justly proud of the very handsome manner in which you have been pleased to testify your approbation of my services. This is all the reward I aspire to; and, for this, most sincerely do I thank you from the very bottom of my heart.

The conclusion of Mr. Ricketts's address was received with the same marks of approbation; after which, Mr. H. L. V. DEROZIO rose, and introduced the third Resolution, in the following terms:—

Sir,—Surprising as my appearance here may seem to many, and labouring as I am under painful indisposition, I am here to take that part in the proceedings of this day, which circumstances and the occasion impose upon me. I should better consult both my convenience and the state of my health, were I merely to submit to this assembly the proposition I intend to make; and, were it my desire to attract admiration, the brilliant address of my friend, Mr. Pote, might deter me from making such an attempt. But my tongue is not fashioned to impart the graces of speech to my thoughts. I must despair of inspiring admiration. Why, then, am I here this day? why have I offered myself to your notice? I have already answered that question. I have intimated that I am called here by duty; and that is a voice which I dare not disobey. I am an East Indian, and therefore I ought to be here; I am interested in the welfare of my countrymen, and therefore I ought to be here; I am anxious to know what measures have been adopted to promote that welfare, and therefore I ought to be here; I love my country, and therefore I ought to be here; I love justice, and therefore I ought to be here. Shall it be said of me that I was the man who, having committed an error, was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge it? They know me not, who entertain this opinion of me. Before the East Indians' Petition was sent to England, it is well known that I offered much persevering opposition to the proceedings of Mr. Ricketts: since that time, however, I have had ample reason to change my view of those proceedings. But, as this account of my conversion may make it appear more miraculous than it actually was, I shall, with your permission, unfold the mystery. When the merits of the Petition underwent discussion, before Mr. Ricketts left this country, I was impressed with the belief, (notwithstanding the arguments employed to make out a contrary position,) that the descendants of European foreigners were not included among the parties from whom the Petition was said to come. This conclusion I thought was correctly deduced from the premises which I found, or supposed I found, in the Petition itself. Mr. Ricketts, it is true, disclaimed the inference; but I was not convinced, and thought his disclaimer was only a blind to such persons

of the class which I contended had been excluded, as had signed the Petition. I entertained a conviction, that in England he would not have represented that class as among the petitioners. But, upon reading his evidence before the Committees of the two Houses of Parliament, I was satisfied that I had done him wrong. Publicly was the error committed: as publicly is it recalled.

After the glowing manner in which Mr. Pote has dwelt upon the miseries and indignities, to which our unhappy class is condemned, for no fault of their own, it will be unnecessary for me to go over the same ground. He has characterized our condition as worse than the degradation of savage life. It is worse than savage degradation. Of what barbarous tribe has it yet been recorded, that the parents have consigned their offspring to infamy; that the fathers have stepped in between their children and those children's rights, withholding their privileges, although those privileges have never been justly forfeited? No, Sir; it has been left for civilized men to do what no barbarian has ever yet conceived; and that has been to work out for an unhappy class, the condition against which we complain. Taking this view of that condition, the Petition of which Mr. Ricketts was the bearer, was the remonstrance of East Indians against the unnatural cruelty of their fathers. The sacrifices made by that gentleman, in endeavouring to excite attention to our complaints, have been numerous, as has been already well observed. He left his home and his family to effect that object: he left a climate congenial to his constitution for one, the rigor of which might have been fatal to him: he ran the hazard of losing his employment; and trusted himself to all the perils of a dangerous voyage. And now that he has returned amongst us, what is the reward to which his services are entitled? This assembly has already accorded its thanks to him; but, although the acknowledgments of grateful hearts are pleasing, the labors of men in a public cause should not be passed by in that way. Mr. Ricketts has told us, that our congratulations, and the plaudits he has received this day, have rendered him indebted to us. Gentlemen, that sentiment has made us doubly his debtors. What are you now to give him? Conceive yourselves transported back to the days "of Greek and Roman glory;" conceive yourselves a community existing in those ages, with brilliant examples before your eyes, of honors and triumphs accorded to those who had served their country; conceive how such examples had operated upon your minds, and how you had then welcomed to his native shore the man who, for you, has done much, and suffered much. Many whom I have now the honor to address, are aware that it is not recently that he has exerted himself to meliorate our condition. In youth, when he first "felt life in every limb," that animation was inspired by an unabating zeal to do

his country service. You can testify whether I over-rate him, when I declare, that, if any man is entitled to the gratitude of the East Indian community, that man is John William Ricketts. Had he been entitled to it upon no other ground than because the Parental Academic Institution (an establishment which, if not well supported, is less creditable to those who should support it, than to its founder) owes its origin to him, such gratitude had been well deserved. Should we not, therefore, present to him some token of our regard, which he may hand down to his posterity, that the conduct of so excellent a father, and so worthy a man, may not be lost upon his sons; but that it may inspire his children to render such services to yours, as he has done to you? If, then, I am surrounded by East Indians; if there be in your bosoms one spark of manly feeling which may be kindled into a flame; if you consider patriotic exertions in your cause as worthy of imitation; if you are alive to just principles of duty; I charge you, by all that is dear to your hearts, to support the proposition which I shall now submit as follows:—

That, in the opinion of this Meeting, Mr. J. W. Ricketts is entitled to the warmest approbation of the East Indian Community, and to every mark of respect and affection that can be evinced towards him. It is accordingly proposed,

First—That a silver vase, with a suitable inscription on it, be presented to Mr. Ricketts, to serve as a memorial of the gratitude of his countrymen for his public services.

Secondly—That Mr. Ricketts be requested to sit for his portrait, with the view of perpetuating the remembrance of one who has done so much for the public cause.

Thirdly—That a public dinner be given to Mr. Ricketts, welcoming him to his native shores, and to the bosom of that society, the condition of which it has been the object of his whole life to meliorate and improve.

The Resolution, moved by Mr. Derozio, was seconded by Mr. J. J. L. Hoff, and carried unanimously; after which, Mr. RICKETTS again rose, and spoke as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I fear I have already trespassed too much on your time, by addressing you at a prior stage of our proceedings on this occasion; but a strong feeling of gratitude constrains me to rise once more, to thank you most heartily and sincerely for the signal marks of approbation, with which you are pleased, by your unanimous suffrage, to characterize my past exertions in a public cause. To speak plainly, when I landed at Madras on my passage to Calcutta, I received many favors and kind marks of attention from our brethren at that place, who also collectively invited me to a public dinner, and afterwards to a public ball and supper: on which occasion, they were pleased to engage the Garrison band, among

others, to play two original airs, composed expressly to welcome my arrival among them. Ingratitude is one of the blackest crimes of which human nature is capable ; and I must own that their kindness in every way, a perfect stranger as I was individually to them, has left such an impression on my mind as no lapse of time can ever efface. When I took leave of our kind friends at Madras, they told me that they were only afraid of my being torn to pieces, the moment I reached Calcutta. I grant that you have not *literally* torn me to pieces ; but you have done all that the most sanguine could have expected. You have heaped such honors upon me by your last Resolution, and which has been carried with such marked applause and enthusiasm, that you have left our Madras brethren far behind ; and it is nothing but fair and right that you should do so. The East Indian community at Madras, it is true, felt an equal interest with ourselves in the success of the objects contemplated by our Petition to Parliament ; since whatever may hereafter be done by the Legislature, in consequence of that Petition, will be a public benefit not exclusively confined to the petitioners themselves, but extended alike to all their brethren labouring under similar disabilities and grievances at Madras and other parts of India. So far they were concerned ; and so far, to their credit be it said, they acquitted themselves towards me as their own feelings spontaneously prompted them ; but with *you*, Gentlemen, I stand on a very different footing. It was *you* who deputed me with our Petition to Parliament ; it was at *your* call that I tore myself away from all that is near and dear to me, and proceeded on a sea voyage to a distant land, in order to serve a public cause ; and it was as *your* Agent and public servant that I engaged in those proceedings, the Report of which has now been placed before you. From *you*, therefore, I had every reason in the world to receive some token of public approbation of my services, if you thought me deserving of such an honor. Gentlemen, I have not been disappointed. You have this day, before a numerous and respectable assembly, publicly testified your unqualified approbation of my past career as your Agent in England ; and this you have done in so handsome a way, as completely to leave me your debtor. I feel justly proud of the silver vase, which you have been pleased so generously to vote me on this occasion. It is calculated, more than any thing else, to excite in me a fresh stimulus to persevering and continued exertions for the public good of our community. A notion, however, seems to prevail in certain quarters, that I have made a fortune by my late mission to England. What can have led to so absurd an idea, I know not ; but I will take this opportunity to avow, that this silver watch (*Mr. Ricketts taking the watch out of his pocket, and holding it up to the view of the Meeting,*) is all the fortune I have thus made ; and even this was a purchase made quite

as a matter of business, for the regulation of my time for my numerous public engagements. My motives of action, so far as these can be judged of, are, I am sure, no secret to those with whom I have been long associated in schemes of public benevolence; and they must know that I am the last man in the world to be seduced from a public cause by any base influence of mercenary gain. On the contrary, your sober and honest approbation is the highest pinnacle of honor, as well as the greatest amount of reward, to which I aspire.

Gentlemen, I must thank you over and over again for your splendid conduct on this occasion; and the only use I purpose to make of the public gift so handsomely awarded to me is, that I shall hand it down with feelings of just pride to my children's children, with a distinct avowal of the public grounds on which I was put in possession of it, in the hope that, on all questions of public interest, they may imbibe the same spirit, and emulate the same example.

Mr. Ricketts sat down amid bursts of applause; after which, Mr. WALE BYRN proposed the fourth Resolution:—

That to the Right Honorable the Earl of Carlisle, and to the Right Honorable Lord Ashley, to the Right Honorable C. W. Williams Wynn, to the Right Honorable Sir James Mackintosh, to Sir Charles Forbes, to Mr. James Stewart, to Mr. Wotryche Whitmore, to Dr. S. Lushington, and to Mr. J. Hume, the warmest acknowledgments of the East Indian Community are pre-eminently due, as well for their parliamentary exertions in the public cause connected with their Petition to the British Legislature, as for the kind assistance so readily afforded by them to our Agent; and that the same be accordingly conveyed to those distinguished personages in a written communication addressed to them by the Chairman of the Meeting.

In doing so, he spoke as follows:—

It is with feelings of no ordinary gratification, that I rise to bring to the attention of this Meeting the Resolution which I have just read. I regret my inability to do adequate justice to the task assigned to me. But, while I regret so much for myself that I may be unable to acquit myself properly, that regret is increased when I reflect that my inability may not lead this Meeting suitably to acknowledge the exertions that have been made in England in our behalf.

The opinion was prevalent, and I confess it was one I entertained, that our Petition in England would have to make its way, as it were, inch by inch; that it would have to encounter the tide of adverse public opinion; and be treated with coldness and neglect. I had anticipated that, after its presentation to Parliament, it would be ordered to lie on the table, and thus be consigned to the custody of oblivion and neglect. Least of all did I expect, that a Minister of the Crown

would have voluntarily offered his services to usher the Petition to the notice of Parliament. Never did I anticipate such powerful and eloquent advocacy of our cause, on the part of the most distinguished members of the Legislature; such perfect unanimity of feeling and of opinion—such earnestness in the business—such a desire to be useful in furthering the success of our undertaking! Nor must I omit to mention the cordial and kind reception of our Agent in England. He went a perfect stranger to a foreign land; he felt no estrangement, but was heartily and cordially welcomed. The compliment, as paid to our Agent, was very flattering; but we must view it also as a compliment paid to ourselves, and make a suitable acknowledgment. It is for exertions and kindness like these that I call upon this Meeting to make a suitable acknowledgment, and evince a just appreciation. Nothing that I could say, I am aware, can add to the public worth of these distinguished personages. Of the Earl of Carlisle, it may be said that his whole career has been one distinguished for exertions in the cause of public liberty. Lord Ashley's character will at once be appreciated, when we see him rising above the narrow and confined notions of official station; and, acknowledging the hardships of our case, doing all in his power to obtain for us substantial justice. Mr. Wynn has long been connected with India; and, during his presidency over her affairs in England, he has done much to improve the existing state of things. It must, above all, be remembered that to him are the East Indians, in common with the natives of India, indebted for eligibility to the office of jurors; an institution which, as being the best preservative of civil right, and political freedom, we should highly regard, and consider as an honorable distinction obtained for us. To Sir James Mackintosh, the civilized world is highly indebted for no common exertions in the cause of morality and of humanity, in his endeavours to mollify and soften the harsh features of the criminal code; and no wonder that a mind, which has been long occupied in disarming law of so much of its terrors, and clothing it with a benign and benevolent philosophy, should at once have viewed in its true light the anomalous nature of our condition and circumstances. The established character of Sir Charles Forbes, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Hume, for liberality and public usefulness, is too well known, and renders it unnecessary for me to detain the Meeting any longer on this particular point.

With regard to the general question of the Petition, I am desirous of offering a few observations on one or two points connected with it. When we last met here for the purpose of discussing the subject, how few there were that were sanguine of any success attending our mission; and many doubted the expediency of deputing an Agent to England. As respects this last point, there ought, I think, to be but

one opinion. What other person, I ask, would have exerted himself in the way that Mr. Ricketts did? Let that man be of the best regulated mind; and I will say that he will be short of efforts, if he does not himself labor under such grievances. Would any gentleman, to whom we would have referred in England, how purely intentioned soever he might have been, feel what Mr. Ricketts must have felt, laboring as he did practically under the grievances which it was his special object to have removed? No,—assuredly he would not. Much also must have been gleaned by private explanations and personal conferences; nor must I fail to notice the examination of our Agent before the Committees of the Lords and Commons. Much information has been elicited in this way, which could not otherwise have been obtained. In my opinion, we have gained much every way by the deputation of an Agent to England.

As to our present position, the next point that I am desirous of speaking to, I think we have abundant cause to rejoice at the progress which we have made. I have sometimes heard the question asked, What has been done? and I have been equally surprized and chagrined at the question. What has been done? We have had a patient, a sympathizing, and an attentive hearing, at a time when we hardly expected that our Petition would have been endured. We have advanced from the starting point. We have given a shock to the mist of prejudice, by which we were enveloped, and have emerged from obscurity to light. We were, so to speak, unknown; but now are we known. What has been done, is it asked? We have removed much of the ignorance which existed, and imparted information as to the true state of our political and social condition; and (may I not be too sanguine in the expectation!) we have laid the foundation of our political fabric. We may not have reared the edifice—but this is not the work of a day—nor of a single generation—but of time. That man must have miscalculated most egregiously, who expected that our Petition would have been immediately met by an Act of Parliament, adjusting our claims. Of all miscalculators, those are the greatest, who, embarking in a great and important undertaking, expect immediate success. To such, I say that no moral or political achievement, which the pages of history record, has been wrought in this summary way. It has been by much toil, by much labor, through good report and evil report, under heart-burning procrastinations, and unnecessary delays, that these victories have been won. I repeat, we have no cause for discouragement; but our prospects are, on the contrary, very cheering. This is a circumstance that must not, however, lull us into supineness, or beget in us an indifference to the cause. We must be on the alert, and ever ready to take the part we have already so creditably sustained,—knowing that no shame is greater than that which attaches to

him, who, after having gone half the way to the goal of his hopes, fails to urge on his way still further. The heart that quails at danger, or sinks under discouragement, or, through fickleness of disposition, gives up the purpose in view, must never reckon upon victory; defeat and shame must be his inevitable portion. Though our prospects were otherwise than they are—though no ray of hope, or beam of light, illumined our path; we must still hope against hope; and though “hope deferred maketh the heart sick,” still we may be assured that constancy is a virtue that will meet its own reward. To all and each one of us I would say, strive to succeed, and success will be the reward of your labors. Strive to succeed; and success will crown your toils. I repeat—strive to succeed; and success will be the harvest of your hopes.

To him who has contributed so much to the furtherance of this cause, I cannot resist the impulse of my feelings to pay a passing tribute. Mr. Ricketts has not appeared before us but yesterday, but has long been engaged in the promotion of our interests. His laudable exertions in the cause of public education, will never be forgotten; and this, with other acts of benevolence, of philanthropy, and of patriotism, will, when his bones will have mouldered in the dust, and he shall have been gathered to his fathers, form an imperishable record of his name.

‘And when the vanities of life’s brief day
Oblivion’s hurrying wing shall sweep away,
Each act by charity and mercy done,
High o’er the wrecks of time, shall live alone
Immortal as the heavens, and beauteous bloom
To other worlds and realms beyond the tomb.’

This Resolution was seconded by Mr. J. Wood, and unanimously carried.

Mr. M. CROWE, in proposing the fifth Resolution, addressed the Meeting as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN,—Although conscious of my inability to do justice to the task I am about to impose upon myself, and totally unaccustomed to public speaking; yet the interest which I feel in the business of the day, induces me to intrude myself on your attention, but with a hope that my auditors will regard my imperfections with an eye of indulgence.

Following the example of my worthy friend, Mr. Byrn, who has just addressed you, I beg to bring to your notice two individuals who are equally entitled to the consideration of this Meeting for the share which they have taken, and the interest which they have displayed, in

promoting the welfare of the East Indians. I mean Sir Alexander Johnston, some time ago the Chief Judge of Ceylon, and Dr. John Bowring, the Editor of the *Westminster Review*. To these, I shall add the name of Mr. Crawfurd. These names must be familiar to all, and many must be acquainted with the merits of these gentlemen; but I think it is necessary I should make some observations on the reasons, which have particularly induced me to mention them on this occasion.

I shall first advert to Sir Alexander Johnston. His name has been already mentioned in Mr. Ricketts's Report, and several circumstances connected with his public and private career noticed, which demand our approbation. I have therefore only to add, that his laudable efforts in behalf of the inhabitants of Ceylon, his abolition of slavery in that island, and his introduction of the jury system among them, are circumstances which reflect the highest honors on his name, and call forth the unqualified admiration of every lover of freedom and justice. But what more imperiously demands the expression of our gratitude, is his unceasing exertions to promote the happiness of the inhabitants of India, and in particular of the East Indians. His handsome introduction of Mr. Ricketts, our Agent, to the Royal Asiatic Society, and the friendly reception which he gave to that gentleman, may be mentioned as recent and decided instances of the good feeling and zeal which Sir Alexander possesses towards the East Indians.

The next individual I mentioned as deserving of our gratitude, was Dr. John Bowring, the learned Editor of the *Westminster Review*. It is needless for me to advert to his attainments as a scholar, and to his unremitted efforts to advocate and promote the cause of knowledge and liberty, or to pay him any compliment on these accounts. These are facts so well known, that it is needless to insist on them, or to remind you that they command the approbation of every liberal man. I shall only mention the friendship he has evinced towards Mr. Ricketts, and towards those he represented in England, and bring to your notice an important measure which he has recommended to Mr. Ricketts, for our adoption. In the course of the Report which has been just read, I recollect allusion was made to this circumstance; but, as the subject was not at all explained, I beg you will permit me to read the letter of Dr. Bowring to Mr. Ricketts, which contains an outline of the measure recommended to our attention, and to make a few observations on the subject, which suggest themselves to my mind. The letter is not long, and it will not occupy your attention beyond a few minutes.

*The speaker then read the following letter:—

London, 10th June, 1830 ; 5, Millman Street.

J. W. Ricketts, Esquire.

My dear Sir,—It has occurred to me, and my conviction has been greatly strengthened by the concurring opinions of several intelligent and well-affectioned friends, that nothing would so effectually serve the cause of the *Anglo-Indians*, as the return of one of their body to the British House of Commons. I know of no impediment, legal or moral, provided funds could be raised for the purpose ; and I should most cordially lend my best assistance for the accomplishment of this interesting object. To succeed, would be to elevate *the class* into a position of equality: its effects in India must be exceedingly salutary, and in England scarcely less so. You would have an organ in the most eminent sphere of usefulness, whose existence alone would necessarily fling a lustre on those he represented. How could *they* long continue divested of the lowest rights, who took a share in the highest legislation? That especial care should be taken in the choice of an individual candidate for parliamentary honors, is too obvious to be insisted on. He should have the power of ready address, and as much of knowledge, virtue, and activity, as can be found among you—moral and intellectual aptitude in such a high degree as may be accessible, and habits of business for the due discharge of his duties. It is enough for me to have thrown out the hint, and to proffer any services, which may help the cause of those whose condition to meliorate is one of the highest claims on that country, to which, in truth, they owe their existence, and (would it were otherwise!) their *present* position.

I am, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

The arguments which we have urged to recommend the proposed measure, are of a nature which carries conviction along with it; they are drawn from such admirable facts and established principles, as greatly add to the solidity of the reasoning which the letter contains. I shall, however, mention another circumstance calculated to shew the propriety of adopting the suggestion of Dr. Bowring. We are all acquainted with the proceedings of the Irish Catholics for obtaining emancipation ; we all know that one of the chief privileges, for which they petitioned Parliament, was the repeal of the law which prevented Catholics from occupying a seat in Parliament, and shut them out from having any share in legislation ; and we know the continued importunities of the petitioners for obtaining this privilege. It cannot be denied that the collective wisdom of Ireland, and even of a part of England, was employed in framing the Catholic petitions, and that the petitioners made no demand, but those from compliance with which they expected to derive solid and extensive benefits. They

repeated their importunities to Parliament, till their prayer was granted; and they are now enjoying the salutary effects arising from the repeal of the law, which shut them out from the House of Legislature. Now if we find that, after the maturest deliberation, they unanimously agreed that the acquisition of this privilege was important towards the melioration of their condition, and if it be an established principle that similar causes produce similar effects, may we not infer from hence that important benefits would result to us, if one or more of our body were returned to the British House of Commons, and thus we had a channel in that high legislative assembly, through which to forward our prayers to our rulers? Indeed, Gentlemen, when I reflect that there has never existed any such legal bar to our occupying a seat in Parliament, as that which had shut out the Catholics from it, I am astonished that this salutary, this important subject has not been yet thought of by any of us; at least not till this moment publicly agitated. Does not this omission exhibit palpable signs of that apathy and indifference to our political situation, for which we have been so often, perhaps too justly, censured?

There are two circumstances mentioned by Dr. Bowring, which deserve our particular attention—the qualifications of a candidate for parliamentary honors, and the pecuniary means which will be required to procure him a seat in Parliament. As to the first point, I am not prepared to demonstrate that an East Indian can be found in every respect qualified to discharge the important duties which, as an useful member of Parliament, this country will demand at his hands, by pointing to any particular individual. I rather fear that the mention of such a subject from an indifferent speaker like me, is somewhat calculated to raise a smile on the countenance of my auditors. But then I ask, whether England could produce a Brougham, a Canning, or a Peel, before she had a Parliament which required men like these to perform its duties; or Ireland could boast of a champion like O'Connell, before she began to smart under the lash of penal enactments? If these great men spontaneously sprung up from the circumstances of the times, and the necessities of events, then may we not hope that, if the want of a person qualified for parliamentary honors were felt, such a person would, in time, be found amongst us, or rather that time and a proper course of studies would enable one of us to acquire the qualifications necessary for the discharge of parliamentary duties?

Want of sufficient funds for such a purpose, is another subject which demands our attention. It is a subject which speaks home to the point rather seriously, and somewhat puzzles me to point out any plan for avoiding the difficulties, which may arise from a want of means in this respect. I can only say that the important benefits, which

may be expected to result from such a measure, ought to induce us to come forward in its support. It is true we are informed, that now the civil and the military services are thrown open to us; but it is equally true that, without great interest and influence, it is utterly impossible to procure admission into them. These powerful agents, which control the actions of men, are essentially requisite in our case; but these are requisites, the want of which is felt amongst us more than that of any thing else. In short, it is a painful, although an undeniable fact, that the interest and the influence we possess are extremely limited. The short period that Mr. Ricketts resided in England, and employed in our behalf all the influence which were available to him, has obtained for us important benefits, and is likely to procure much more. May we not conclude from this circumstance, if we had one of our own body permanently residing in England, taking a share in the highest legislative discussions, and among the highest functionaries of the state, that much benefit would result to us from the influence which he must possess, when placed in such circumstances, that our cause would then have a zealous advocate, and that the avenues to advancement, which are yet virtually shut against us, would then be accessible to us? In all new undertakings, the greatest difficulties occur in the beginning, and then they diminish in proportion to the success of that undertaking. If once the East Indians were introduced into the higher branches of the service, we should soon begin to feel the advantages arising from such an event, and to be convinced that the expense, to which we had been put for the purpose of rendering that service accessible to us, has not been uselessly lavished on a chimerical pursuit.

Although I have enlarged on this subject more than on that which I said was the cause of my intruding on your attention, yet I am not just now prepared to make any specific proposition on the subject. Such a step would at present be premature. I have made these remarks, and agitated this subject publicly, simply with a view that it may be kept in our recollection, and more fully discussed on some future occasion, when the public will be prepared to enter into its merits, and to examine at leisure the many important results which may be expected to arise from the adoption of such a measure. ✕

I shall now conclude my address by reading the motion, which I beg earnestly to recommend to your unanimous approval:—✕

That the cordial thanks of this Meeting are equally due to the Honorable Sir Alexander Johnston, Dr. J. Bowring, and Mr. J. Crawford, for the warm and friendly interest so kindly taken by each of them in the East Indian cause; and that the same be communicated to them respectively by the Chairman of the Meeting.

around me. Although our respected delegate has informed us of his having received very favorable assurances from certain noble Lords and other influential individuals in Parliament, I cannot see the evils which the adoption of this Resolution is likely to entail. Why are we assembled here this day? Are we to confine ourselves to a particular routine, and exclude all matters which do not come exactly within it? Is this assembly unprepared to entertain this proposition? What is the difficulty in its way? Is it characterized by less discretion than zeal? He who entertains such a notion, has certainly misunderstood the object of my friend, Mr. Pote, and attended but indifferently to the tenor of his suggestion. It is not required of the Committee to prepare a Petition this moment; nor is it supposed that any individual present has such a document ready in his pocket, which he has only to lay upon the table for instant signature. Such speed is not contemplated by us. We only call upon our friends to request the Committee to frame another Petition; and that no haste may do mischief, we take care that it shall be fully approved of, before it is signed and despatched. Suppose this Resolution is adopted, and that it afterwards becomes unnecessary, what harm will be done? We shall only have to change our minds—a matter of trifling inconvenience. Were there no other consideration, the fact that one House of Commons rarely takes cognizance of Petitions addressed to its predecessor, should be alone sufficient to convince us of the imperative necessity of appealing to the Legislature of Great Britain again. What have we hitherto done? What have we yet obtained? Where are our spoils? Have our rights been restored? Have our claims been conceded? No, Sir. We have but just taken the field; and now shall we rest upon our arms? The spirit of exclusion has only been startled upon his throne: but there sits the demon still, mocking our efforts, and grinning over his triumph. Our hearts must not faint, our nerves must not slacken. Let us not trust our cause to men, who have nothing for us but empty professions. Our friend, Mr. Ricketts, has told us that Lord Ashley sympathizes with us, and that Sir Alexander Johnston is deeply interested for us. But their sympathy and their interest, however likely to call forth our gratitude, should never claim our confidence. Do you suppose that any member of the Legislature, touched by so much tenderness, will address either House of Parliament in some such way as this? “Gentlemen—Here am I, overflowing with the milk of human kindness, anxious to restore to that long-neglected, and unjustly treated race, the East Indians, those rights ——— which they do not demand.”—No, Sir, such will never be the language of legislators: the benevolence of statesmen seldom incommodes them to such an alarming degree. But the very facts which Mr. Ricketts’s Report communicates

to us, should lead us to distrust noble Lords and Honorable gentlemen. What are those facts? Lord Ashley felt for us. We thank his Lordship. He promised to present our Petition. This was generous. But, when the time came for his Lordship's hand to follow up the benevolent suggestions of his heart, that hand became suddenly paralyzed. Weighty matters of state pressed upon his heart, and the Petition was left to make its own way into the House of Commons. I am apprehensive (though I only suggest the possibility of the thing) that matters of state may be as burdensome to our other sympathizing friends in Parliament, and that such paralytic attacks, as we see do sometimes afflict Lord Ashley, may be common to others who are deeply interested in our welfare. To protect ourselves against such mischances, it would not, perhaps, be the most unwise course to petition the Legislature. Gentlemen, you have nothing to fear from firm and respectful remonstrance. Your calls for justice must be as incessant as your grievances are heavy; complain again and again; complain till you are heard—aye, and until you are answered. The ocean leaves traces of every inroad it makes upon the shore; but it must repeat those inroads with unabated strength, and follow them up with rapidity, before it washes away the strand.

MR. RICKETTS, after Mr. Derozio sat down, again addressed the Meeting:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN.—You may, perhaps, suppose that I now rise to oppose the motion which has just been made by Mr. Pote, and seconded by Mr. Derozio, in regard to our preparing and forwarding a second Petition to Parliament. Not so; for I rise to *third* the motion, if such a thing can be done. I am no advocate for apathetic indifference and silence, under an oppressive load of degrading disabilities. On the contrary, my motto is, “Complain loud and long, until you are heard and answered;” but perhaps my motive in dissuading the Committee, for the present, from a renewal of our application to the Legislature, is liable to be mistaken and misunderstood; and I will, therefore, now explain the matter. During my residence in England, I was in almost daily communication with Members of Parliament; and, before I came away, they never once even so much as hinted to me the necessity or desirableness of our re-petitioning Parliament for the redress of our civil and political grievances, on my return to Calcutta. With regard to the technical objection referred to, it is true that our Petition was presented to the last Parliament, which was afterwards dissolved by the King's death; but the proceedings of the two Select Committees on India affairs cannot, from that circumstance alone, be annulled and set aside. My evidence before them will be reported on to both Houses

of Parliament, and there can be no receding from a decision of the public question involved in the case.

But, Gentlemen, while I agree to the propriety of our petitioning Parliament a second time, you will allow me to state my opinion of what nature such a Petition should be. We need not, in our second Petition, go into any lengthy detail of all our disabilities and grievances. These are now pretty well known among public men in England, and a very brief recital of them will suffice for every purpose. What we should now bend our chief attention to, is this. The impression on my mind is, that the boon we solicit,—no, this is a misnomer,—I mean the concession of our just rights, will no longer be withheld from us. It is to the British Parliament we must look for ultimate success in the accomplishment of this object; but I fear that, even then, some secret delusion may hereafter be practised towards us, so as to keep us out of what the Legislature may fully intend to put us in possession of. The door of admission into the Company's service may, perhaps, be thrown open to us in theory, but completely and effectually barred against us in practice. Lest the noble intentions of the Legislature should be frustrated in some such way as this, I propose that we should at once express our honest fears on this head, and pray for the insertion of a specific clause in the next charter that may be granted to the East India Company, by which a fair proportion of their patronage may be transferred to India, and by which they may be required to maintain two Colleges in this country, at the public expense, on a similar footing to their present Colleges in England. This is what I should call fair play; and this is all we contend for. A portion of the East India patronage might thus be transferred to the local Government; who might be empowered, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to nominate our East Indian youth, thus properly educated in local Colleges, to writerships and cadetships in the civil and military services. In certain quarters, this is altogether, as I have once before said, a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence; but this is surely taking the matter on its very lowest scale. I say that *political* degradation invariably carries along with it *moral* degradation; and, if you seek to degrade any man *morally*, you have only to degrade him *politically*; and the thing is effectually done. I repeat it that, in certain quarters, the whole affair of the public administration for British India, is entirely a mercenary question of pounds, shillings, and pence; and I really think that, were I a Rothschild, with a long purse, it would not be difficult for me to compound the matter with those, who seem to have no other idea of a grave public question, involving important social and moral consequences to a whole community of Christian subjects. Gentlemen, I say that we have a right to be employed in the service

of the state, in our own native land; and, so long as this right is taken from us, we labour under a wrong, and an injustice, that reflect the deepest disgrace upon the authors of our degradation. It would even be hard and unjust, for the sake of putting us in possession of our right to public employment, to subject us to the necessity of seeking it as a boon at the hands of those separated from us by the distance of half the globe. *Here* we are on the spot of our nativity; and *here* we are willing to render our services to the British Government. Why should we be put to the trouble of travelling 15,000 miles from home, in quest of what we might never obtain? The thing ought to be placed within our reach on the spot; it ought to be made accessible to us at our own doors.

With these sentiments, Gentlemen, I say we have a right to complain of our grievances; and complain we will, loud and long, till we are heard and answered; and I would, therefore, conclude by *thirding* the motion just made by Mr. Pote, and seconded by Mr. Derozio, as already read to this Meeting.

The Resolution was, in consequence, unanimously carried; and Mr. Byrn rose to say, that a Petition was in course of preparation, and would be in due time submitted for approval. A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the Meeting dissolved about half past two o'clock.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CONNECTED WITH

The East Indians' Petition to Parliament.



The return of Mr. Ricketts to his native country, affords the East Indians' Petition Committee an opportunity of laying before their constituents, an account of their transactions for a period of something less than two years. The proceedings of Mr. Ricketts, while in England, as an Agent of the East Indians, are so explicitly and fully detailed in his Report to the Committee, that nothing of any consequence appears left to them to enter upon. Without further remark, therefore, the Committee proceed to submit the following communication from Mr. Ricketts, for the general information of all concerned:—

TO H. PALMER, Esq.

Secretary to the East Indians' Petition Committee.

SIR,

My former letters to the Committee will have regularly apprised them of the gradual progress made in our very important public cause in England; and my last letter to you, from Rio Janeiro, under date the 22d November, will have informed them of the untoward circumstances which led to my very serious and protracted detention on the passage from London to Calcutta. Having now, under a kind Providence, happily escaped the perils of a tedious voyage, and returned in safety to my native land, I feel it incumbent on me, as due to my constituents, to embody the whole subject of my mission in one con-

nected point of view ; and in so doing, I will endeavour to take a retrospective glance at all that has gone by, so as to put them in possession of each and every particular, which it may be of any consequence for them to know.

Thanks to the improved spirit of the age, in which it is our happy lot to live ; our cause is one that needs little or no advocacy to secure for it the warm interest and hearty co-operation of every honest and liberal-minded man. When I first reached London, on the 27th of December, 1829, (having arrived at Falmouth on the 23d,) a perfect stranger as I was to all around, the aspect of things, in reference to our great work, appeared dark and gloomy to my mind ; while the bleak dreariness of a desperately severe winter, conspired not a little to enhance the difficulties of my situation. All the gentlemen connected with Parliament, moreover, as well as Mr. Crawford, the accredited Agent for the inhabitants of Calcutta, for whom I had brought letters of introduction, through the kindness of our friends in India, were at this time absent in the country ; so that I had to grope in the dark, as it were, till I could find out a proper way of proceeding. To make some sort of a beginning, therefore, (since a beginning must be made in every thing,) I took up my position, by the advice of a kind friend, in a set of lodgings, very centrally situated, in Claremont Place, Pentonville *, which gave me the double advantage of travelling either way to the city in one direction, or to the west end of the town in the other, as my future engagements might require.

As Parliament was to open on the 4th of February, the Members soon began to flock into town ; some a little before, and some a little after, the commencement of the Session ; and I, of course, kept an eager watch for the arrival of those with whom I was more immediately to have to do, and also for such others as were likely, from the known stamp of their public character, to take an interest in our long-neglected political condition. Having, accordingly, once broken the ice, I proceeded step by step in the matter, until it was not long before the object of my mission to England became pretty generally known. With perfect truth, I can affirm, that in no one instance was I disappointed as to the view taken of our case ; for I really found so decided a tone of liberal-mindedness among public men in general, (with but one or two exceptions, in the case of those officially connected with the affairs of India,) that I felt myself transported, as it were, into a new world

* I afterwards transferred my lodgings to Brooksby Street, and from thence to Cloudesley Terrace, both in the same neighbourhood.

of politics, quite dissimilar to what we are usually accustomed to know in India; so much so, that what was habitually regarded and admired as a laudable spirit of high-toned political liberality in that country, amounted, in the atmosphere of England, to nothing more than the mere incipient parts of the science.

In so saying, I must not be understood to insinuate any thing like the most distant reflection upon the community of Calcutta, who, so far as individuality of public character goes, and even taken as a collective whole, may fairly vie with any public body, under similar circumstances, in any part of the civilized world; but the comparatively feeble and deteriorated quality of politics in India, viewed by way of contrast with the state of things in England, even on matters of indispensably vital importance to the real public good, is easily accounted for, by a simple advertence to the glaring fact of a peculiar anomaly in the commercio-political frame of state administration in British India, which gives rise, in many instances, to an awkward clashing of commercial interests with political good, on a liberal and an enlarged scale; and this inevitably leads to the enactment of restrictive and compulsory laws, backed by austere and extra-judicial penalties, involving too often the sacrifice of the latter for the undue protection of the former.

But to return to the point, and to give you a striking instance in illustration of what I mean, the Committee may probably remember how much was thought, by our friends in Calcutta, of Sir Charles Grey's letter to me, in which he declined giving us the aid of his pecuniary subscription, towards the furtherance of our public undertaking, merely because he happened to conclude in these words: 'At the same time, I am desirous to add, that, in my opinion, the class of persons, of whom you are the Agent, have many just claims upon those in whom the power is vested of altering the laws of this country, for a full and attentive consideration of their present political condition.' This quoted passage from the letter in question, merely goes to acknowledge the justness of our claims to be heard and considered,—a position which, in England, was altogether regarded as a vapid common-place truism, destitute of all intrinsic importance to our cause.

On the 1st of February, as a preliminary step to future proceedings, I called at the India-house, in Leadenhall Street, first to see Mr. Loch, then Chairman of the Court of Directors, and afterwards Mr. Astell, then Deputy Chairman. The former received me with a commendable degree of official courtesy; and we entered into an easy conversation

on the state of things in regard to our class. Among other points, he remarked that there was every disposition, on the part of the Court, to remedy the legal grievances complained of in our Petition to Parliament ; but that, so far as regarded our political condition, there were some difficulties involved in the case, which required grave consideration. These difficulties, no doubt, belong to the abstract question of East India patronage, which is known to be so jealously protected and guarded against all encroachment. The latter seemed rather shy to face the subject, so as to enter freely upon it ; and concluded by saying, that a Member of Parliament as he was, the whole question would, of course, come before him in the proper place, when our Petition should be presented to the House.

Since my interviews with Mr. Loch and Mr. Astell, as just mentioned, I repeated my call on the former, and also made it a point to see Mr. Campbell, the present Deputy Chairman, together with Mr. Edmonstone and Colonel Baillie, two other Directors ; the two former of whom (Mr. Campbell and Mr. Edmonstone) shewed an aptitude to take a pretty fair view of the matter, though the latter (Colonel Baillie) by no means went to any thing like the same extent. Of Mr. Loch, I must decidedly say, that, so far as I am capable of judging, he appears to be an upright and a well-intentioned legislator for India ; though, perhaps, like many others, strongly warped and hampered by the force of prescriptive custom and usage, the stubborn growth of prejudice and self-interest. Mr. Loch very frankly bore testimony to our general respectability, as a class improving in intelligence, and increasing in numbers. Mr. Campbell did precisely the same, making honorable allusion to some with whom he was personally acquainted in the Indian Army at Madras. Nor was Mr. Edmonstone at all backward in this way ; for he told me, without scruple, that India was as much *his* native country as *my own*, having spent the best part of his life in it ; and, when the conversation turned upon our fitness for offices of trust and importance, he mentioned the names of Mr. Breton and Mr. Dunbar, two of our countrymen, whose mental attainments, he said, he had ample opportunities to know, and whom he considered as eminently qualified to fill any situation whatever. As to Colonel Baillie, however unpalatable it may be for me to do so, still a sacred regard to truth requires me to say of him, that the tendency of his observations savoured too much of the rust of antiquity, and looked very like a studied attempt to throw cold water upon the fire of a laudable zeal, flowing from a good cause.

On the 12th of the same month, I had an interview with Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, who made many inquiries into our case, in the presence of his then Secretary, Mr. G. Bankes ; the sequel of which was, that he would consult the Law Officers of the Crown on the legal technicalities of the matter ; thus leaving, untouched, the other point connected with East India patronage,—a question evidently of grave importance in certain quarters.

By this time, I was in possession of sufficient data to be able to judge, that nothing in a satisfactory or tangible shape was to have been looked for at the India-house,—that great imperial mart of lucrative patronage for British India ; and I accordingly became fully resolved to turn my undivided attention to another and a higher public tribunal.

In pursuance of this resolution, and concurrently with Mr. Crawford, I engaged the Right Honorable C. W. Williams Wynn, on the 19th of February, to present our Petition in the House of Commons, which, the moment the subject was mentioned to him, he most cordially agreed to undertake ; and not only so, but also named one or two Peers, who, he thought, might, with advantage, do the same in the House of Lords. With my ready concurrence, therefore, Mr. Wynn very kindly arranged the matter with the Earl of Carlisle, on whom I accordingly waited with the Lords' Petition, on the 2d of March.

Things were in such a train, when I called at the India Board, in Cannon-Row, Westminster, on the 5th of the same month, to obtain an interview with Lord Ashley, a Member of the Board ; who, in happy accordance with his known liberal-mindedness, received me very cordially, and readily entered into a free conversation on the subject of my mission ; and so lively an interest did he take in the matter, clearly the result of his own views, that he frankly volunteered himself to be the medium of presenting our Petition in the House of Commons. Upon this, I, of course, made his Lordship acquainted with the true state of the case, in regard to the arrangement already concluded with Mr. Wynn ; but still, though placed in a delicate predicament towards that gentleman, I promised to do my best to obtain his consent to a transfer of the Petition, as proposed by Lord Ashley ; and I felt myself quite justified in going thus far, from the consideration (as Mr. Wynn once so correctly observed in his speech in the House, on the 4th of May,) that much weight would doubtless attach to the very fact of so prominent a part being taken in our favor by a Noble Lord filling a Ministerial office at the India Board, and also from the firm belief in

my mind, that Mr. Wynn would himself readily concur in the same view of the matter, and generously waive all scruples of personal delicacy about it. Nor in this was I at all disappointed; for Mr. Wynn, when I afterwards called to see him on the subject, literally acted out the very part I had just before, as it were, theoretically given him due credit for.

Lord Ashley further told me, that he would confer with his colleagues at the India Board, and also with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman at the India-house, to feel their pulse on the subject, so as at once to do the thing in a fair and open way; and that, if I would favor him with a call, two days after, at his private residence in King-street, St. James's, he would let me know the result. I accordingly waited upon his Lordship on the 7th, when he gave me a cordial reception; telling me, with expressions of great pleasure, and much to his credit, that all was settled in the most satisfactory manner, since the home authorities were now quite willing to throw open to our class every branch of the regular service in India, without any distinction or reserve; and that, so far as the legal disabilities went, after due consultation with the Law Officers of the Crown, they would be fully prepared to remove them by a legislative enactment suited to the case. All this, his Lordship said, he would have the pleasure to state publicly in his speech, while presenting our Petition. He moreover added, (in consequence of my expressed wish to see matters adjusted at an early period, preparatory to my returning to India,) that the India Board would instruct the Court of Directors to write out to the Bengal Government in their next despatches, apprizing them, officially, of what had taken place; and, to enable me to return with satisfaction to my constituents in India, that he would give me a pledge in writing to the purport that all should be carried into effect.

Nothing could have been more honorable to Lord Ashley, than the very fair and liberal part he had so spontaneously taken in the affair; and, if things underwent a different turn not long afterwards, as the sequel will shew, I must freely and unequivocally acquit his Lordship of all voluntary fault whatever. So far from imputing blame to him on this account, I have always been foremost to sympathize with him for the awkward embarrassments, in which he soon became involved, by reason of circumstances beyond his control. Public men acting on the broad basis of liberal views and principles, will sometimes be hampered in this way, but without necessarily entailing on themselves any impeachment of their moral or political consistency as individuals;

and Lord Ashley was, I am sure, precisely so situated in a subsequent stage of the affair.

The Commons' Petition was accordingly now to have been presented by Lord Ashley on an early day; but, just about this time, Lord Ellenborough interfered so as to keep the matter in suspense, until he should consult the Law Officers of the Crown on the technical points involved in our case*. Matters thus remained until the 3d of April, (prior to which, however, I was accustomed to see Lord Ashley once or twice a week, generally by appointment, and sometimes of my own accord,) when, calling upon his Lordship, agreeably to appointment, in order to have 'a little more familiar conversation with him on the subject,' to use his own words, he, evidently, with much proper keenness of feeling, told me that 'he was almost ashamed to see me that morning; as, since his last appointment with me, and after all the open and straight-forward manner in which I had acted throughout, he was sorry to be obliged to say that things had taken a sudden turn, by which he felt himself restrained from presenting the Petition, however willing and happy he might still be to do so.' His Lordship's apology to me on this account, was most ample and kind, and quite characteristic of his own honorable straight-forwardness; and I, of course, very readily exculpated him from all deserved blame in the matter, strongly alive as I was to the pressing and unavoidable exigency of the case. This sudden turn took place between Tuesday the 30th of March, (when Lord Ashley, according to Parliamentary usage, gave notice in the House of his intention to present our Petition on Monday, the 5th of April,) and Saturday, the 3d, when I saw him agreeably to appointment.

Though most feelingly disappointed as to the prompt adjustment of the question, according to the original plan, yet Lord Ashley assured me that there was every symptom of a friendly disposition, on the part of the Government, towards our long-neglected claims; and that they merely wished to take evidence on the subject before the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and, after thoroughly sifting and weighing the whole matter, to decide upon the real merits of the case. No possible objection could, of course, have been made to so fair and reasonable a mode of proceeding; since there was no doubt in my mind as to the final result, so long as the Legislature did but do their duty; and, indeed, were this course resolved on at an earlier stage of the business, the circumstance would have been hailed by me with

* See Appendix, No. 1.

unmixed satisfaction. As it was, an alloy to that satisfaction came along with the natural disappointment resulting from the difference, so far as regards the mere question of time, between a summary adjustment, founded upon a strong eagle-eyed view of the whole case, and a more tardy one, grounded upon the lingering process of a formal and protracted investigation; nor was this feeling of just disappointment the less poignant, from the consideration that Lord Ashley had, for the present, so unexpectedly failed in compassing his noble views of things.

As matters took so astounding a turn, I was once more reduced to the delicate alternative of going back to Mr. Wynn, with a plain story of the whole case, as it then stood, in order that he might again kindly undertake to present our Petition in the House of Commons, as originally planned; and, indeed, if proof were wanting of that gentleman's dignified sacrifice of personal feeling, and of his sincere wish to promote a public cause, purely on public grounds, this proof was amply furnished to my mind, in his unhesitating readiness to comply with my second request. To Mr. Wynn, therefore, (no less than to Lord Ashley, for his laudable intentions, temporarily frustrated by others,) are the East Indian public doubly indebted for the vital services so cheerfully rendered by him on this occasion.

Before I proceed any further, I ought here to mention, for the sake of chronological order, that, agreeably to a pledge given to my constituents in Calcutta, I addressed a letter, on the 3rd of March, to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, transmitting, for his perusal, a printed copy of our Petition, and requesting the favor of an audience; and also one of a similar tenor to Mr. Peel (now Sir Robert) of the Home Department. Both the one and the other of these public functionaries, like men of business, were alike prompt and polite in their replies respectively. The latter assigned the multiplicity of his public avocations as a reason for asking me, if convenient, to communicate what I had to say in a written form; adding, however, that 'he would see me some time hence, if I still thought an interview necessary.' The former suggested the expediency of my communicating, in the first instance, with the President of the Board of Control, and with the Chairman of the Court of Directors; if after which, I still wished for an audience, His Grace would appoint a time for seeing me. To this I wrote in reply, to say, that I had already opened a communication with the two quarters pointed out to me; and would, therefore, of course, avail myself of the promised audience. A rejoinder from the Duke purported to give me a sort

of full-length portrait of his numerous engagements during the day; in consequence of which, his Grace said, "he would be much obliged to me, if I would put in writing what I wished to represent; but that, if I could not do so, he would endeavour to find time to receive me at an early hour in the morning." Upon this, I wrote back to inform his Grace, that I would do myself the honor to wait upon him any morning he might appoint for the purpose. Here the correspondence most abruptly dropped; nor did I hear from the Duke again. As to Mr. Peel, I replied to his letter, to say that, having seen a Noble Lord at the India Board, (Lord Ashley,) since first writing to him, I considered that the necessity for troubling him, either with a verbal or written communication, ceased to exist; and would not, therefore, intrude upon his valuable time, occupied, as he must be, with various matters of importance*.

So far as Mr. Peel is concerned, I must allow that all was right and proper; but I confess I had, and still have, some misgivings about the perfect decency of the Duke's silent retraction, under the circumstances of the case, and after once positively giving me to understand that he would see me "at an early hour in the morning;" and the only way I can possibly account for it in my own mind, is this. The Duke was in almost daily intercourse with Lord Ellenborough, on one subject and another, as a Member of the Cabinet; and it is more than likely, that, after conversing with him about our Petition to Parliament, his Grace did not deem it worth while seeing me, as he had just before intended. At all events, if such was really the case, a very ordinary degree of official courtesy might have dictated the propriety of a brief apologetic answer, at once simply telling me so. Thus much have I felt it right to say, by no means in a tone of complaint, but merely by way of necessary explanation, so far as regards my abortive purpose (without any fault of mine) to obtain an interview, first with the Duke of Wellington, and then with Mr. Peel.

After this, beyond my continued interviews, from time to time, with different Members of Parliament, whose names it may, perhaps, be needless to mention, and also an interview with Lord Calthorpe, who, through another gentleman, expressed a wish to see me †, nothing of any consequence occurred, until the presentment of our Petition by Lord Carlisle, in the House of Lords, on the 29th of March. His Lordship very kindly gave me an order of admission into the House,

* See Appendix, Nos. 2. to 9. † See Appendix, Nos. 10 and 11.

that I might witness the debate on the occasion ; but so extremely unfortunate was I, when I reached the place, as to find myself just a little too late to realize my wishes in that respect. In this instance, as it turned out, I was led into a mistake about the exact hour for the opening of the House ; and, as the Petition was presented among the earlier business of the evening, I thus stupidly missed the anticipated satisfaction of seeing things for myself, but from no fault whatever on the part of Lord Carlisle.

On the 31st of March, in obedience to a summons from the House of Lords*, I attended to give evidence before their Select Committee on the affairs of India. The Committee Meeting was well attended ; and the Duke of Wellington was also present on the occasion. Most of the Peers shewed an inclination to draw out to public view, by the fair drift of their questions, the aggravated evils of our civil and political condition ; while Lord Ellenborough was the only one among them, who, assuming a sort of *ex-officio* position in the affair, endeavoured, by the ordinary process of cross-examination, to palliate and soften down, as much as possible, the otherwise glaringly self-evident hardships of our case. A manuscript copy of my evidence on this occasion, as taken from a printed one belonging to Lord Carlisle, occupies a place in the Appendix†.

While on this part of the subject, I may as well mention that it was in the House of Lords I first saw Sir Alexander Johnston,—a name so familiar to the merited applause of India, on account of its association with much public good, emanating from all his liberal-minded career, whilst Chief Justice and Member of Council at Ceylon. He was also in attendance at the House, for the purpose of giving evidence on India affairs ; and, after some interesting conversation between us, touching my mission to England, he gave me his card for the sake of renewing it more fully, at his own house, on a future day. To Sir Alexander, as truth and justice require me to avow, I owe a peculiar class of obligations, for the characteristic ardour of mind, with which he so readily entered into our case ; for the very warm interest he so steadily continued to take in it, and for all the personal kind attentions so uniformly shewn me up to the day of my quitting England. Thus much must I say of him just now ; but a principle of fair dealing with all parties, will constrain me to renew the subject in a subsequent part of this letter.

* See Appendix, Nos. 12 and 13.

† See No. 14.

But to return from this seeming digression. The Easter vacation now intervening, which lasted for three weeks, all business was, of course, suspended in both Houses of Parliament; and, soon after the resumption of the session, our Petition was presented by Mr. Wynn, in the House of Commons, on the 4th of May. Never before, since my arrival in England, did I witness a more interesting spectacle, than the one presented to my sight on this occasion; and Mr. Wynn very kindly secured a seat for me in the House, below the gallery, where I truly enjoyed a rich mental feast, afforded by the warm debate arising from the subject,—one which was now, for the first time, fairly and tangibly brought before the Legislature. Without exception, it was decidedly the best thing in the way of a debate in the House that evening, as was also acknowledged by others; and Mr. Crawford, who was likewise present, came up to congratulate me on the peculiar warmth of interest shewn to be felt by the different speakers, and on the happy issue of the business, so far as it went.

To Mr. Wynn, therefore, and also to Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Charles Forbes, to Mr. J. Stewart and Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, are the East Indian public pre-eminently indebted, for the highly beneficial results accruing from their parliamentary exertions in an affair, which concerns a politically degraded and proscribed class of Christian population, subject to the rule of a British-Christian Government, at the distance of half the globe. Nor are our obligations, in this respect, the less due to Dr. S. Lushington and Mr. J. Hume; who, but for the lateness of their arrival on the particular evening referred to, would have taken their full share in the debate.

The separate debates on our Petition in both Houses of Parliament were, it is true, reported in the Newspapers of the day, but in so imperfect and meagre a way, as to leave no more than a mere skeleton of the thing; and it, therefore, became necessary for me to look elsewhere for a more full and detailed account. It was now I began to regret that I had not employed a special Reporter on our own account; but this omission is to be ascribed, not to any lack of will to do my best in every way, but purely to the chilling and benumbing influence of an English climate, which is often such as almost to stultify an old Indian, always accustomed to breathe in a warm latitude, and to deprive him of much of that ready-witted presence of mind, and of that staid composure of judgment, which are found to be so eminently useful in the active business of life. It soon occurred to me, however, that a work called "The Mirror of Parliament," was the

best source whence the deficiency might be supplied to advantage; and here I can only say, to the credit of Mr. Barrow, the Editor of that publication, (it being intended solely for the use of subscribers,) that I had no difficulty in compassing my object. For the complete report, therefore, which I afterwards published in the more convenient form of a pamphlet, (1,000 copies of which were forwarded to the Committee at Calcutta, 400 to the East Indian community at Madras, 200 to that at Bombay, and a considerable number circulated in England,) we are indebted to the Conductor of the *Mirror of Parliament*; but for whose disinterested kindness in thus accommodating me, I must have been doomed to sink into hopeless disappointment, with a mere echo of gone-by interesting speeches tingling in my ears.

So far as regards Lord Carlisle's speech, however, I deem it my duty, in justice to his Lordship, to insert in the Appendix, a letter* written by him, on receiving a few copies of the printed debates which I sent. As already explained in a former part of this letter, I did not personally witness what took place in the House of Lords, in reference to our Petition; and hence it was very natural for me to conclude, that the report of his Lordship's speech, as given in the *Mirror of Parliament*, was substantially correct; though in this, I was afterwards sorry to find myself mistaken. At the risk of needlessly swelling out this my report to the Committee, already perhaps too lengthy, I have prevailed on myself to give a full statement of the case, by inserting also my reply to Lord Carlisle's letter†; which, however, still leaves it necessary for me to add a word or two, by way of further explanation. When Lord Carlisle presented the Lords' Petition, on the 29th of March, there was no intention in my mind to publish the debate separately, on our own account, under an idea that a report of it in the Newspapers of the day would suffice for every ordinary purpose; and, not having been present on the occasion, as before stated, I was naturally led to conclude that all was right, so far as the substance of the matter went. Not so, however, in regard to the debate on the Commons' Petition, presented by Mr. Wynn, on the 4th of May. Having personally witnessed what took place in the Lower House, I was, of course, better enabled to judge for myself; and, seeing but a meagre Newspaper report of the debate the next day, I felt convinced that nothing like justice had been done to the very able and interesting speeches of the different Members; and it was

* See No. 15.

† See No. 16.

precisely this disappointment that gave rise to the first idea of the desirableness of publishing a new version of the whole, in the permanent form of a pamphlet.

With regard to the incorrectness of Lord Carlisle's speech in the Upper House, I can only account for it in this way. When his Lordship rose to present the Lords' Petition, having commenced with stating that it was one from a certain class of the Christian population in India, it is likely enough that this circumstance alone was quite sufficient to produce a sort of narcotic effect on the mind of the Reporter, who must have treated the matter as one of subordinate interest, relating to a scene separated by the distance of half the globe; and hence a mere hurried guess, as I must now call it, at Lord Carlisle's speech on the occasion, as given in the *Mirror of Parliament*. Quite otherwise, however, with the Lower House. When Mr. Wynn rose to present the Commons' Petition, the cry of "Order, order" resounded more than once from the Speaker; and Mr. Wynn himself, experiencing some little inconvenience from the prevailing buz in the House, very courteously turned round and requested the Honourable Members to desist for a few moments. Perfect silence and order being now restored, Mr. Wynn proceeded without interruption, and was attentively listened to; and the whole of the debate growing out of the matter, became strikingly spirited and interesting.

Before finally quitting this branch of the subject, I must be allowed to express my sense of gratitude to Lord Carlisle, for the kind share of interest he took in presenting our Petition in the House of Lords, and in examining me before the Lords' Committee; and, though he had but a simple part to act in the matter, and abstained, for the reason assigned in his letter, from enlarging on our case while presenting the Petition, yet our obligations to his Lordship remain unaffected by that circumstance.

Returning home from the House at a late hour of the night, and rising above all influence of climate, I was impressed with feelings of lively gratification at what I had just witnessed, beyond any thing that I can now describe; and the next evening, being present at the East Indians' Dinner Club, then newly formed by some of our fellow-countrymen in London, I there saw many of our friends; and, among the rest, Mr. H. C. R. Wilsone, a firm and steady adherent to our common cause. The conversation naturally turning upon the parliamentary debates of the preceding evening, we were unanimously of opinion that we should address a letter of thanks to Mr. Wynn, and to the other

gentlemen who had taken so praiseworthy an interest in advocating our long-neglected rights. Copies of both our letter, and of Mr. Wynn's reply, will be found in the Appendix* ; and I am ~~most~~ fully persuaded in my own mind, that the East Indian public will not be backward in redeeming our voluntary pledge, as regards "a rich harvest of grateful feeling in this country."

Precisely a similar letter was also addressed by us to Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Charles Forbes, respectively ; but from neither of them, were we so fortunate as to receive a reply. This omission on their part, however, is not, in my opinion, to be imputed to ~~any thing~~ like want of courtesy, or proper feeling, towards us ; but may rather be accounted for, with regard to the former, by the circumstance of a serious bereavement in his family, just about this time, which of course precluded all attention to business ; and, with regard to the latter, by the fact of his having then been laid up with a fit of severe illness, which must have produced a like effect.

After the presentation of both Petitions, one in the House of Lords, and the other in the House of Commons, as already mentioned, and after my examination before the Lords' Committee, nothing further of essential consequence remained for me, than to wait a similar process before the other Committee ; and, indeed, at one time, I saw no prospect of this taking place during the then present session. The Commons' Committee were long occupied in collecting evidence on matters relative to the China trade, having commenced their work in this department ; and, when they had fairly brought their proceedings on that head to a close, which was towards the end of May, for the purpose of entering upon India affairs, I thought it my duty to make every effort to get myself examined on an early day, so as to be enabled to return to India. Having, accordingly, made the necessary attempt, I was told by Mr. Wynn, and some other gentlemen on the Committee, that their regular plan of proceeding was such as to hold out little or no hope of compliance with my request, until the ensuing session ; but that, if I were really anxious to return home to Calcutta, they would take care to see that other witnesses, who had before resided in India, should be examined with reference to the civil and political disabilities of our case. Thus ascertaining the exact position of things, I waited a little longer, to see how matters would go, and then made up my mind to treat for a passage to Calcutta, which I actually

* See Nos. 17 and 18.

engaged on the 14th of June; but, having once done so, I soon began to reflect on the serious gravity of my disappointment in leaving England, without previously doing all that was essential on my part towards the success of our cause.

Taking this strong view of the matter, I lost no time in repairing once more to Mr. Wynn, to say that I had just engaged a passage to Calcutta, but could not leave England with any degree of comfort, on account of my non-examination before the Commons' Committee. I was told, in reply, that the Committee were now occupied in examining Mr. Lloyd, the Company's Accountant-General, on the finances of India; but still, for the reasons stated by me, Mr. Wynn kindly promised that, with the concurrence of his colleagues, he would endeavour to bring about my summary examination, if possible. At the same time, I waited upon Mr. Stewart, and one or two other gentlemen connected with the Committee, to obtain their friendly assistance in the same way; and, to my great joy arising from agreeable disappointment, I had soon the complete satisfaction to know that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the Committee had most liberally resolved on suspending Mr. Lloyd's examination, *pro tempore*, to make room for mine. For their very kind and considerate regard to my wishes on this occasion, I must ever feel deeply indebted to those gentlemen who so readily interested themselves in my behalf. Nor can I here omit to express myself thankful to Mr. Stewart, who very kindly offered, if I wished at any time to witness the proceedings of the Committee, to introduce me into their chambers, with the concurrence of the Chairman; though other pressing engagements interfered with my availing myself of the kind offer.

Matters being thus satisfactorily arranged, in obedience to a summons signed by the Chairman of the Committee *, I attended in the House of Commons, on Monday the 21st of June, for the purpose of giving my evidence. The interrogatories put to me on this occasion, happily discover much of a feeling of deep interest in the details of our case. Hence the eliciting of many fresh points in my examination before the Committee in the Lower House, which were left untouched before that of the Upper. The Committee adjourned about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and resumed my examination at their next sitting on Thursday, the 24th. My bodily health had, since my first arrival in England, now began to decline sensibly, from a perpetual

* See Appendix, No. 19.

struggle with the extreme fickleness of the climate ; and, on this occasion, I proceeded to the House under a violent irritation of fever ; which becoming known, I was advised to go home. This, however, I declined doing, from my great anxiety to despatch the business, lest a total cessation might take place from the approaching event of the King's death, which occurred, as it turned out, but two days after ; and my adjourned examination was accordingly gone through. A manuscript copy of my evidence before the Committee in the House of Commons, as taken from a printed one belonging to Mr. Wynn, will be found to occupy a suitable place in the Appendix *.

Upon now taking a cool and deliberate retrospect of the whole matter, I have only to regret my failure in repulsing, with a due regard to justice, and in the strongest terms compatible with a sense of proper decorum, certain antiquated notions of an illiberal stamp, hatched in a particular quarter connected with the India House, as embodied in the questions put to me in the course of my examination. For this self-conscious failure on my part, I hope not to stand chargeable with a deficiency of right feeling suited to the case ; since, in my own defence, I can truly plead a weak state of health, very sensibly affecting my spirits, doubtless superinduced by the benumbing influence of a desperately severe and changeable climate. What I here allude to, regards questions relative to "colour, caste of mothers, want of mental qualifications," and so forth ; the two former being, indeed, of so grave a magnitude, as to prop up a system of aristocracy, based on the flimsy texture of the skin, to the utter overthrow of every principle of sound moral philosophy.

So far as regards any silly prejudice, arising from "colour and caste of mothers," these are distortions of the fact too puerile and unfounded, to deserve a serious thought in the mind of a reasonable being ; but, with regard to the matter of "mental qualifications," the question seems to claim a little sober treatment. And here, I would ask, what are the qualifications necessary to fit men for the public service in India? Are they human, angelic, or divine? If the two latter, cold and hopeless despair belongs to our case, until the Millennium shall have done its perfect work amongst us ; but I rather think that the qualifications so much insisted on, are merely human ; and what are they? Embracing the circle of moral qualities, they consist in principles of uniform probity and rectitude, which lead to correctness of public character and conduct through life ; and, with regard to

* See No. 20.

mental qualities, they are made up of such ingredients, as common sense, a sound understanding, combined with a competent knowledge of English, and the vernacular dialects of the country, and a practical aptitude for the despatch of public business. With these qualifications, (taken on the lowest scale, for the mere sake of argument, but which may, of course, be carried to a still higher pitch, if desirable,) superadded to an honest regard for the public good of India, it must require the presence of a monstrous political anomaly to bar the door against candidates for public employment,—such an anomaly as has, I must say it to the shame of England, already too long been allowed to exist in India.

Having now gone through a faithful detail of the main proceedings connected with my public mission to the British Legislature, in what further remains I will confine myself to a few interesting topics, which have occasionally occupied my mind, as bearing a general aspect on our case.

Here I must begin with giving all due praise to Sir Alexander Johnston, for the very creditable share of interest, as before observed, taken by him in favor of our class. His conversations with me on this subject, were peculiarly interesting. He told me that, during his residence at Ceylon, he paid every attention to the case of East Indians, and of the natives in general, on that island ; and it was precisely in pursuance of his liberal habits of thinking on such points, that he persevered, and at length succeeded in introducing among them the system of trial by jury, so justly admired by all civilized nations. He further made it a point to elevate their political condition, by throwing open situations of respectability in his Court, to qualified persons born on the island, and also the office of local Magistrates in the interior, where suitable opportunities offered ; and, during his periodical circuits, he did all in his power to uphold their personal respectability, by inviting them to his table, on the same footing with the civil and military gentlemen at the different stations. Though not directly connected with the subject ; still, as so materially reflecting on the highly praiseworthy public career of Sir Alexander, I may also mention, that it was he who, with the previous consent of the proprietors, brought about the emancipation of all children born of slave parents, after the 12th of August, 1816, a day fixed for this purpose in honor of the then Prince Regent's birth-day ; and so heartily did the proprietors of slaves enter into the truly philanthropic views of Sir Alexander on this point, that, in many instances, they acted upon them to the length

of emancipating adult slaves of their own accord ; so that, the fresh importation of slaves being declared illegal, and the offspring of slaves being free, the horrible traffic in human flesh must, ere long, die a natural death, leaving not even a vestige of slavery on the island at no great distance of time. This splendid act of philanthropy alone, if there were no other, is sufficient to hand down the name of Sir Alexander Johnston to the latest posterity in India ; but there are still two other points, about which Sir Alexander interested himself ; viz. the invidious restrictions placed on the civil rights of the Catholic community, and the prohibitory laws against the holding of lands by Europeans ; both of which evils were afterwards accordingly removed. Let it not be supposed, however, that I mention these facts, for the paltry purpose of idolizing Sir Alexander. Far from it. I do so merely in a way of deserved eulogy, and just to show what *can* and *might* be done for British India, by a public functionary of the requisite influence, and of the right stamp.

As more immediately bearing on our general cause, I must do Sir Alexander Johnston the common justice to say, that he invariably shewed me many kind attentions, for which I cannot but ever feel thankful. Among the rest, he personally invited me to attend the periodical Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, in Grafton street, of which he is a Member, as well as President of their Committee of Correspondence. At his invitation, too, I attended the Annual General Meeting of the Society, on the 6th of June ; Lord Amherst having been called to the chair, in the absence of Mr. Wynn, the President, who was detained by some business in the House of Commons. On this occasion, after the reading of the Annual Report by the Secretary, Sir Alexander addressed the Meeting in an eloquent strain, at some length. His speech embraced a succinct review of their proceedings in the Correspondence department, during the past year ; and, in the wider range of his other observations, he took a glance at the various tribes inhabiting different parts of India, and the Eastern Archipelago, concerning whose habits, customs, and manners, and whose civil polity and laws relative to the important matters of property, marriage, and inheritance, the Society still lacked much information. To pave the way for remedying this defect in some sort, Sir Alexander proposed, agreeably to the purport of a previous conversation which he had with me on the subject, to form an Auxiliary Committee of Correspondence among our community in Calcutta, through my instrumentality, for the avowed purpose of collecting fragments of Oriental interest, from different

sources. In speaking of us, he, from the kindest of motives, forbore to designate us by any distinctive name, "lest," as he was pleased to say, "he should unintentionally offend the feelings of a gentleman in the room, who, for character, talent, and integrity, was equal to any Member of the Society, whom he was now addressing;" and, for this reason, he defined our class by the circumlocutory appellation of "the descendants of Europeans in India." Here he enlarged a little by saying, that, in one of his overland journeys on the Coromandel Coast, he met with two gentlemen of this description, a Mr. Hughes and a Mr. Wheatly, (the latter since dead,) who, in the course of conversation, imparted to him a fund of valuable information, relative to the surrounding country, to such an extent as he never possessed before. He further stated his firm belief, that a most useful auxiliary would at once be secured to the Society, by the formation of a Committee of Correspondence in Calcutta, as proposed; and in illustration of this, he adverted to the high testimony borne to our class, by the late Colonel Mackenzie, Surveyor-General in India, who went the length of telling Sir Alexander, that, without their valuable aid in the department, the Surveyor-Generalship could never get on. The Meeting approved of Sir Alexander's suggestion; and the next speaker who rose to address them, (the Honorable Mr. Shore,) highly applauded his speech for the comprehensiveness of its views, and concluded with recommending that such speeches should, in future, be embodied in a permanent form, for the general information of all.

I have felt it imperative on me thus prominently to state what took place at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the occasion referred to, in order that the East Indian community at large may be aware, that I stand pledged to do my best for bringing about the formation of an Auxiliary Committee of Correspondence, in connection with that Society, and that all public-spirited East Indians may have a full and fair opportunity to assist in promoting the highly praiseworthy object contemplated by Sir Alexander Johnston. Whatever may be the preconceived notions and interested prejudices prevailing on this subject in certain quarters, I know it to be a fact, and one in which I can truly rejoice, that my countrymen around me are making rapid strides in the march of sound intellect; and that, even as things now stand, we can, here and there, point to a poet and an essayist, to a grammarian and a logician, to an algebraist and a mathematician, to a Latin and a French scholar, and even to a theologian and a metaphysician; in a word, they now very properly begin to find

their way into every nook and corner of the great republic of letters. After this open and unreserved declaration of the fact, I hope to escape from being counted too sanguine in expecting certain success in so feasible an undertaking; and one, too, which must reflect so much credit on our literary character as a community.

I will now conclude my just and deserved eulogy of Sir Alexander Johnston, by inserting in the Appendix* a letter with which he favored me while at Portsmouth, in reply to a few lines, by way of a farewell, that I wrote him, just before embarking for Calcutta; a fit of illness having prevented my taking leave of him personally. A previous communication from me, to which he there alludes, is one which I addressed to him some time before, relative to the state of things at Ceylon, and to which he promised to give me a full and detailed reply at a moment of convenient leisure. A copy of this, too, perhaps, it would be as well to throw into the Appendix†.

While quitting the subject, however, as regards the formation of an Auxiliary Committee of Correspondence among our community in Calcutta, I cannot refrain from adverting to another point; which, though foreign to the specific object of my mission to England, yet, as possessing a kindred character, fully deserves to be mentioned. What I now allude to, is my offer to the Committee of Management for the Parental Academic Institution, just before I left Calcutta, to lend my aid in securing for the Institution, the services of a Professor of superior classical and scientific attainments, either from England or Scotland. For reasons of a financial nature, the Committee declined acceding to my proposal; but more than ever do I now regret that I was not authorized to accomplish so very desirable and important a measure. An improved tone of education for the rising generation, and for our coming posterity, on sound principles, forms the brightest hope of our future permanent prosperity. Let our successors in life be but properly trained and brought up; let their moral and intellectual attainments but approximate nearer and nearer towards the destined goal of a true standard; and I will undertake to vouch for it, that they will gradually, and at no great distance of time, overcome all unfair and illiberal obstacles and impediments thrown in their way, and ultimately put to the rout every system of repulsive and unjust laws that, under whatever pretence, may be in force against them in any quarter. Under the salutary impulse of a rightly cultivated mind, our East Indian

* See No. 21.

† See No. 22.

youth will then have acquired a sober aptitude to think, to speak, to write, and to act on all matters bearing upon their social and political welfare; and illiberalism and injustice, in every palpable form, must then, of necessity, by the fair triumph of public opinion, begin to hide their bold and unblushing front, and seek a congenial retirement into their native obscurity.

I am aware that much has been done, within late years, in the momentous affair of education among our class; and the general air of improvement in society, already resulting from that circumstance, is too obvious to be denied: but what has as yet been done in that way, up to this moment, can only be regarded as the mere preliminary efforts of a great moral work that still remains to be achieved. Nor will I omit this opportunity to avow, that my temporary residence in a distant land has by no means so operated as to produce the effect of impairing my firm and decided predilection for the public good of India, or of abating my accustomed ardour of interest in schemes for the proper elevation of our community in the scale of moral and civilized life; and, if an unequivocal pledge of this be wanted, the best I can offer may, perhaps, be found in the simple fact of my having voluntarily restored to their native soil, two of my boys, who accompanied me on the voyage to England; and who are now destined, with the free and full consent of my mind, to receive all their training for the practical purposes of life on the very spot of their nativity.

Besides Sir Alexander Johnston, as above particularized, there are many other gentlemen, both in and out of Parliament, who professedly take a laudable share of interest in our cause in England, though nothing of any material consequence may have transpired in my respective communications with them; but there is one among the rest, whom it would be quite unpardonable in me not to mention. I allude to Dr. J. Bowring, the talented Editor of the *Westminster Review*, who very kindly made himself known to me, and has promised not only to give us a fair hearing at all times, through the medium of his quarterly publication, but also to advocate, on principle, our public cause, editorially. An interesting letter from him, on a very important point, will be found in the Appendix*; and, indeed, here I may add, without exaggeration, that a liberal public feeling in our favor, as indicated by the fair specimen afforded in that letter, prevails to a happy extent in almost every disinterested quarter in England.

* See No. 23.

Yet, after all that may be said or done through other subordinate, but not the less important channels, it is in the public spirit to be found in the British Legislature alone, that we must ultimately seek our chief guarantee for the total abolition of civil and political disabilities identified with our long-neglected case ; and, when we take a cursory glance at the operations of Parliament, even within the brief period of the last few years, a cheering conviction fastens upon the mind, founded on the known analogy of things, that our just claims to an equal participation of rights and privileges, in common with the rest of the community, will not pass unheeded in that quarter. Witness, for instance, the rescindment of the Test and Corporation Act, of antiquated memory, which took place in the session of 1827 ; and prior to which, public offices in the state were so unjustly confined to a privileged class, as they may well be called, to the utter exclusion of all others who might happen to entertain religious scruples against the particular form of oath prescribed for candidates. Look, again, at the fact of the Catholic Relief Bill having been passed by the Legislature in the year 1829, which at once purported to restore a large proportion of Irish subjects of the British realm to the fair exercise of their just rights, under certain limitations. Lastly, let us also advert to the landable attempt made in Parliament, during the session of last year, to give the right hand of fellowship, in matters of legislation, to a body of about 30,000 Jews, forming by no means an unimportant branch of the British population in England ; and, if we may judge from its first failure in the House of Commons, only by a trifling majority on the other side of the question, it is not, perhaps, too much to predict that a second attempt in the same way will, in all likelihood, be crowned with complete success.

All these facts put together, and following so closely upon the heels of each other, may, I think, not unreasonably, be classed among "the signs of the times," as bearing a peculiarly auspicious aspect towards our particular condition in India ; and much substantial good may, therefore, surely be looked for from the final proceedings in both Houses of Parliament, which are likely to take their shape from a fair and an unbiassed consideration of the whole mass of evidence placed before the two Select Committees, and afterwards reported on by them.

Just before leaving London, I most earnestly confided the task of watching over our case, now fairly before Parliament, to Mr. Crawford's vigilance and attention ; of course making Lord Carlisle and Mr. Wynn duly acquainted with the arrangement. Amid other press-

ing avocations connected with the commercial interests of India, Mr. Crawford, it is true, as himself repeatedly acknowledged, was not able to render me much personal assistance in any way ; but he assured me, at the moment of parting, that, as he had now gone through the more onerous parts of his own work, he would, in future, take care to identify our cause with other general matters, within the scope of his public agency. On this assurance, I can firmly rely ; and my sentiments to the same effect were expressed in a letter, which I took the opportunity to write him during my detention at Rio Janeiro, as inserted in the Appendix*.

I have the pleasure to lay before the Committee my Account-Current†, showing the amount of my entire expenditure, chargeable to the public fund raised for the purpose ; and, in order that nothing in any way may be kept back on my part, I beg also to transmit herewith a bundle of papers, 115 in number, which accumulated in my hands while in London.

This brings me to the close of my career in England, up to the time of my departure from Portsmouth, on the 8th of July last ; and, if I shall be thought to have been guilty of any degree of lengthy tediousness in the foregoing statement, my best apology will, I hope, be found in the vast importance of the whole matter, and the consequently greater necessity imposed upon me to give a full and unreserved detail of all particulars. In what now remains, my pen shall be confined to a brief recital of one or two points emanating from my short stay at Madras.

On the 1st instant, I was favored with an audience of the Right Honorable the Governor, Mr. Lushington, who gave me a polite and urbane reception, and spoke about my evidence before the Lords' Committee, touching the disabilities set forth in our Petition to Parliament. The Governor, so far as I can judge, appears to be well disposed towards our class generally ; and he introduced the name of Mr. Hughes in conversation, mentioning him as one, " more intelligent than whom he never saw." This is precisely the same gentleman, to whose character for much general information Sir Alexander Johnston bears so high a testimony, as adverted to in a preceding part of this letter. He is an extensive landholder in the interior of Madras ; and is so well versed in local matters connected with political economy, that " Government make no scruple," as I was told, " to consult him for infor-

* See No. 24.

† See No. 25.

mation on certain points, which they cannot so readily derive from any other source whatever." While retiring from the presence of the Governor, he very kindly asked me to a ball and supper at the Banqueting Room on the following evening ; for which mark of personal attention, I must here express myself thankful.

Just another point remains to be noticed, as connected with my stay at Madras ; and, to speak without vanity, it is really one alike creditable to the public spirit of the one party, and gratifying to the best feelings of the other. What I refer to, is the very cordial and friendly reception I met with among our community at that Presidency. Not to mention the many personal marks of kindness individually shown me by one and all, they collectively, as a body, invited me first to a public dinner, on the evening of the 3d, and then to a ball and supper on that of the 5th. On both these occasions, the arrangements made were such as to reflect the highest credit on all concerned ; and, in so saying, I do no more than give the echo of general opinion about the matter. At the public dinner, the Garrison band was engaged to play ; and several loyal and patriotic toasts were most cordially and enthusiastically drank, preceded by warm and eloquent speeches, and followed by appropriate tunes ; two of which, much to their credit be it said, were composed on the spur of the occasion, expressly to welcome my arrival among them*. Under the irresistible power of such kind and friendly treatment, spontaneously emanating from themselves, my natural feelings, as may be expected, were drawn into full exercise, and fairly overcome ; and I could not restrain the strong impulse of my mind to make some feeble attempt at giving them utterance, not only at the time when my name became prominently associated with a special toast proposed and drank with much enthusiasm by the company, but also in a letter which I was afterwards impelled, by motives of pure gratitude, to address to Mr. P. Carstairs, the gentleman who presided at the table, preparatory to my sailing out of the Madras roads†. Nor did our kind friends at Madras content themselves with these glowing effusions of public spirit on so patriotic an occasion. They, moreover, generously came forward with an offer to defray my hotel expenses during my stay among them ; and, though motives of personal delicacy influenced me to withstand the gratification of their laudable impulse in this way, yet the heart-felt sense of such their spontaneous kindness remains unabatingly impressed on my mind.

* " Ricketts's March," and " Ricketts's Welcome to Madras."

† See Appendix, No. 26.

And now to bring my Report to the Committee to a final close. When I steadily look back upon the past, I have every reason in the world to regard my deputation to England as by far the most happy period of my public career ; and justly proud do I feel of the high tone of salutary confidence thus reposed in me by my fellow-countrymen ; whose fair and honest approbation of my proceedings, if such be deserved, is the highest pinnacle of honor, as well as the greatest amount of reward, to which I aspire. Finally, from the very bottom of my heart do I bless God, for having spared my life, under very trying circumstances in a distant land, and also on a perilous voyage back ; for the pleasing symptoms of success already vouchsafed to our public cause ; and for once more restoring me in safety to the land of my birth, and to the bosom of a family endeared to me by the strongest ties, and by a thousand best considerations.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient and faithful Servant,

JOHN W. RICKETTS.

CALCUTTA, 21st *March*, 1831.

P. S. Since the reading and approval of the above Report, at the Public Meeting held at the Town Hall, on Monday the 28th March, and while the Report is in the press, authentic intelligence has reached Calcutta, of a complete change in the Ministry in England. This is a circumstance that looks like the very finger of a kind Providence for averting evil, and producing good ; and must be hailed with a sort of rapturous joy and gratitude, by every well-wisher of the human race, as portending a civil and political regeneration in every part of the civilized world, to which the counsels of the British Cabinet extend their salutary influence. We may, therefore, I think, rest satisfied that, amid the great vortex of general politics, India, ' the brightest gem in the British crown,' will not be overlooked by the new Ministry ; the decided liberality of whose known political character, (composed as it is of men renowned in the history of public opinion for all that is truly great and noble in public life,) affords a sure pledge of success to our public cause, whenever the time shall arrive for discussing and regulating the terms, on which the East India Company's lease for these distant parts of the British Empire, if renewed, shall be granted by the Legislature.

J. W. R.

In conformity with Mr. Crawford's advice, as communicated in his letter inserted in the Appendix*, the Committee had taken the necessary steps for preparing and despatching another Petition to England. This document was not intended so much to embrace any new matter, as to be restricted to the brief reiteration of the various grievances contained in the original Petition. The second Petition was, accordingly, in a state of forwardness, when Mr. Ricketts arrived; but, on their consulting him, he stated it as his opinion, that the document in question was rendered unnecessary, by the very favorable state of public feeling existing in England towards the political claims of the East Indian body, and also with reference to the present advanced stage of the business in both Houses of Parliament, in consequence of their first Petition. For these reasons, Mr. Ricketts thought that a second Petition at this moment would seem to imply a culpable want of confidence in those gentlemen, who have already taken so warm an interest in the matter, and who never once hinted to him the necessity and propriety of forwarding another Petition to them, on his return to India. Concurring in the same view of things, the Committee have resolved to abstain, for the present, from any fresh appeal to the Legislature, until the result of what is now doing in England, in consequence of their original Petition, shall be known †.

The Committee would deem themselves highly culpable, if they permitted themselves to conclude their Report, without expressing, in the strongest possible terms, the very high sense they entertain of Mr. Ricketts's valuable services in the public cause. Judging from the result of his delegation, as far as it appears exhibited in his statement, and which, as far as circumstances have developed themselves to observation, holds out an earnest of ultimate success;

* See A.

† In consequence of a proposition made at the late public Meeting, at the Town Hall, it was unanimously resolved to frame a second Petition to Parliament.

the Committee are satisfied that the East Indian community could not have selected a more fit and qualified individual from among their body as their representative on so important a mission. How zealously he interested himself, and with what laudable and exemplary ardour does continue to interest himself in their behalf; and how warmly he was animated in the fulfilment of his responsible trust, let the voluntary sacrifices he so cheerfully submitted to, speak to the fact. How well he has answered the expectations which were formed of his capability, and how ably and satisfactorily he has accomplished the object of his deputation to Parliament, are quite manifest, from the detail furnished in his very judicious Report. That Mr. Ricketts's exertions on their account ought to be cherished in lasting remembrance, by a grateful East Indian community, will be readily admitted; that East Indians should consider themselves as bound to Mr. Ricketts by ties of no common obligation for the unwearied zeal, indefatigable exertions, and pure patriotism he has ever evinced in the public cause, and to secure the public good, will be acknowledged with equal readiness. But though Mr. Ricketts's merits are above the limited aim of cold and feeble panegyric, yet not only their thanks, but also of the East Indian body at large, are due to him; and it is hoped that the Committee will be cordially and heartily joined by their countrymen, in testifying, in a marked manner, their deep sense of his inestimable services.

The Committee deem it right to take this opportunity to assign a place in the Appendix* to the East Indians' Petition, with which their Agent was deputed to England, by a Resolution passed at the public Meeting held at the Town Hall, on the 20th of April, 1829, together with the Parliamentary Debates on that Petition in both Houses of the Legislature, as published by Mr. Ricketts in London.

* See B. and C.

Since writing the above, the Committee have received a communication from Mr. P. Carstairs, at Madras, detailing the proceedings of the East Indian community at that place, consequent on the arrival of Mr. Ricketts among them, on his passage to Calcutta, which are of so gratifying a nature, as to deserve a place in this Report*.

In conclusion, the Committee beg to lay before their constituents, an Account-Current of Receipts and Disbursements since the publication of their last Report, in the month of July, 1829 †.

* See Appendix D. † See Appendix E.

A P P E N D I X.

No. 1.

Lord Carlisle presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts, and begs leave to inform him, that he had intended to present his Petition to the House of Lords on an early day; but has been requested, by Lord Ellenborough, to postpone it to rather a more distant one, as he wishes to have a legal opinion upon the subject.

Lord C. will acquaint Mr. R. with the day, on which he will present the Petition.

Grosvenor Place, March 6th, 1830.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

13, Brooksbj Street, Liverpool Road.

No. 2.

No. 13, Brooksbj Street, Liverpool Road, March 3d, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

Allow me respectfully to submit, for your Grace's perusal and consideration, the accompanying printed copy of a Petition to Parliament, with which I have been deputed to England, by my countrymen in India; and I beg to solicit the honor of an audience of your Grace, whenever it may suit your Grace's convenience to see me.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's very obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

To his Grace the Duke of Wellington, &c. &c. Downing Street.

No. 3.

The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts, and has received his letter of this day, and the enclosed printed copy of a Petition, which he intends to present to the House of Commons.

The Duke recommends to Mr. Ricketts to see the Chairman of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Con-

trol. If, after having conversed with those gentlemen, Mr. Ricketts still wishes to see the Duke, he will appoint a time to receive him.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq. *London, March 3d, 1830.*
No. 13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road.



No. 4.

No. 13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road, March 4th, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

I have been honored with the receipt of your Grace's note of yesterday's date; and beg to state that I have already seen the President of the Board of Control, and the Chairman of the Court of Directors, on the subject of the Petition to Parliament, with which I have been deputed from India.

Under these circumstances, I shall wait your Grace's pleasure, as to the time when it will be convenient to your Grace to grant me the honor of an audience.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's very obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

To his Grace the Duke of Wellington, &c. &c. Downing Street.



No. 5.

London, March 5th, 1830.

The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts, and has received his letter of the 4th instant.

The Duke begs leave to inform him that he is engaged every day from 12 o'clock, in one or other of the Committees sitting in the House of Lords, and afterwards in the House itself in the afternoon.

The Duke would be much obliged to Mr. Ricketts, if he will put in writing what he wishes to represent.

If he cannot do so, the Duke will endeavour to find time to receive him at an early hour in the morning.

John W. Ricketts, Esq.
13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road.

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No. 6.

No. 13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road, March 6th, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's note of yesterday's date; and beg to express my sincere regret at the trouble which I have occasioned, amid the multiplicity of your Grace's engagements.

I shall do myself the honor to wait upon your Grace any morning which it may be convenient to your Grace to grant me the favor of an audience.

Apologizing for this intrusion on your Grace's valuable time,

I have the honor to subscribe myself,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's very obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

To his Grace the Duke of Wellington, &c. &c. Downing Street.

No. 7.

No. 13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road, March 6th, 1830.

SIR,

Allow me respectfully to submit, for your perusal and consideration, the accompanying printed copy of a Petition to Parliament, with which I have been deputed by my countrymen in India; and to solicit the honor of an audience, at such time as may be most convenient to you, amid your numerous important avocations.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

To the Right Hon'ble R. Peel, &c. &c. Whitehall.

No. 8.

Whitehall, March 8th, 1830.

Mr. Peel presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts, and begs leave to observe, in reply to his letter of the 6th March, that Mr. Peel is so occupied at the present time, by public and parliamentary business, pressing for immediate despatch, that he will be much obliged to Mr. Ricketts to make to him in writing (in the first instance at least) the communication which Mr. Ricketts wishes to make personally. Mr. Peel will see Mr. Ricketts some time hence, if Mr. Ricketts shall still think an interview necessary.

John W. Ricketts, Esq.

No. 13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road.

No. 9.

No. 13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road, March 9th, 1830.

SIR,

I have been honored with the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date ; and beg to state, in reply, that, as an Agent entrusted with an important mission from India, I had certainly thought it my duty to seek an audience of a Minister holding so prominent a place in the India Board, as yourself ; but, since the date of my application to you, I have obtained an interview with another Member of the Board, which supersedes the necessity of my intruding upon your valuable time, occupied, as you are, with various matters of importance.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

To the Right Hon'ble R. Peel, &c. &c. Whitehall.

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No. 10.

*Essex Street, March 27th, 1830.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I enclose a note I have received from Lord Calthorpe. I do not know whether it is intended to examine you on Tuesday— if so, it seems desirable that you should endeavour to see his Lordship previously to that time.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) W. B. GURNEY.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

*13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road.*

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No. 11.

Lord Calthorpe presents his compliments to Mr. Gurney, and would be obliged to him to ask Mr. Ricketts, in case he should have an opportunity, to call upon him on Tuesday next, at half past 3 o'clock.

Grosvenor Square, March 27th, 1830.

W. B. Gurney, Esq.

Essex Street, Strand.

No. 12.

House of Lords.

By the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of the Affairs of the East India Company.

ORDERED,

That John William Ricketts, Esq. be requested to attend to give evidence before the said Committee, and that the Clerk be directed to write to him accordingly.

SIR,

In pursuance of the above order, I have to request your attendance at the Bar of the House of Lords, on Thursday, the 25th of March, at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 4 o'clock, to be sworn to give evidence before the said Committee. And you are further requested to attend the said Committee, on Friday, the 26th, at 1 o'clock, for the purpose of being examined.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. W. BIRCH,

Clerk to Committee.

House of Lords, Friday, 19th March, 1830.

P. S. You are requested to show this letter, and give your name to one of the door-keepers of the House of Lords.

Though *Thursday* is named for the attendance of Mr. Ricketts, any earlier day, next week, from 4 to 5 o'clock, will do as well for Mr. Ricketts to be sworn, if more convenient.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

13, *Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road, London.*

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No. 13.

*Die Veneris, 19<sup>o</sup> Martii, 1830.*

Ordered, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, that John William Ricketts, Esq., do attend this House on Monday next, to be sworn, in order to his being examined as a witness before the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of the Affairs of the East India Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China.

(Signed) W. COURTENAY,

*Deputy Clerk, Parliaments.*

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

13, *Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road.*

No. 14.

*Evidence on the Affairs of the East India Company.*Die Mercurii, 31<sup>o</sup> Martii, 1830.

The Lord President in the Chair.

*John William Ricketts, Esq. is called in, and examined as follows:—*

You are a native of Calcutta?

I am.

You were the bearer of a Petition from a certain portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta and the Presidency of Fort William, which has been presented to the House of Lords?

I was.

How is that Petition signed; by what number?

Between six and seven hundred.

Are they mostly persons immediately descended from European fathers and native mothers, or are they the offspring of intermarriages?

They are also the offspring of intermarriages.

Do you know in what proportion?

No, I do not.

Can you state the grievances which are detailed in that Petition? The first grievance appears to be a complaint with respect to their being destitute of any rule of civil law; will you explain how that operates upon the Petitioners?

We are not recognized as British subjects by the Supreme Court of Calcutta, if residing in the Mofussil.

That is, without the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court?

Just so, which throws us upon the Mofussil Courts, the proceedings of which are regulated by the Mahomedan law. As Christians, we cannot avail ourselves of the Mahomedan civil law, though we are subject to the criminal code. The Mahomedan civil code does not apply to us as Christians, though we are subject to the lash of the criminal law.

It does not apply to you as regards marriages, or succession to property?

The Mahomedan code is expressly for Mahomedans. It provides for the rights and interests of Mahomedans.

Therefore, in all that regards marriages and succession to property, you are without any rule by which you can regulate your conduct?

Without any definite rule of civil law.

You have said that, in criminal cases, you are subject to the code Mahomedan law?

We are.

Is that attended with considerable hardship and severity ; for instance, the infliction of punishment in criminal cases ?

I am not aware of its being unnecessarily severe, so far as my personal knowledge goes ; though its provisions are barbarous as applicable to a Christian population.

Has there been no mitigation of the severity of part of that code ?

The code is modified by the Company's Regulations.

Is there any appeal from that tribunal ?

To the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in Calcutta, but not to the Supreme Court. The question was tried in the year 1821 ; and it was the opinion of the Judges, that we could not claim a right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

Does the tribunal of Sudder Adawlut possess the power of increasing the punishment ?

So I understand.

Is that the case, without fresh evidence being adduced ?

Yes.

In that Petition, there is a complaint, that from all the superior and covenanted offices, as well as all the sworn offices of the Marine, the Petitioners have been excluded by the positive Regulations of the Company ?

Either by the positive Regulations, or by the established usage of the service.

Does the preamble also provide, that a person so appointed shall not be the son of a native Indian ?

It does, with regard to appointments in the regular service of the Company, and to the military appointments of the Company.

Does that apply after intermarriage ?

It used to do ; but I believe there has been some modification of that rule within the last two years.

That modification is by Regulation ?

There is no law upon the subject ; it is by the orders of the Court of Directors.

Do you know of instances in which that modification has been acted upon, in which persons, not immediately descended from native mothers, have been appointed to situations under the Company ?

I know certain instances, in which the appointment was refused on that ground on former occasions.

Since the year 1827, has there been no alteration in that respect in the Regulations of the Company ?

I see that the phraseology of the prohibition has been altered within the last two years or so.

It is restricted to the immediate descendants of the mother, is it not ?

I think it is. There has been no formal Regulation or Notification

on the subject ; but I gather the fact from the phrase employed, which has been modified of late.

With regard to the subordinate and inferior offices, which do not come under the head of superior and covenanted offices, is there any exclusion of the Petitioners ?

There is a certain class of situations, which are confined by usage to the natives of the country, and in which we have no share or part whatever. It would be considered irregular to appoint us to these situations.

From their being filled by native officers ?

Yes.

Does that apply to offices in the Judicial Department, such as Moonsiffs ?

Yes.

Are they appointed to act as Pleaders in any of the Courts ?

No ; that is confined to natives.

With regard to the Military Department, how are they situated ?

They can hold no commissions in the Company's or King's service.

Are they excluded from being non-commissioned officers ?

They are employed as Drummers and Fifers, and so forth.

Can they advance to the rank of Corporal ?

I am not aware of any instance, in which they have been so employed.

Is there an order of the Commander-in-Chief in force, which prevents their holding any commissions in the Indo-British Army ?

There was an order passed by the Commander-in-Chief, in the year 1808, to that effect.

That you conceive is still in force ?

Yes, practically so ; it has never been repealed.

Therefore, they can hold no commissions either in the King's or the Company's Army ?

No, certainly not.

Are there no instances of any deviation from that rule ?

There were some of our class, who were admitted both into the Civil and Military services, prior to the prohibition ; the Quarter Master General of the Army, for instance, who is an East Indian ; but he was admitted prior to the year 1791 ; and there is Mr. Achmuty, of the Civil service, who was also admitted prior to the prohibitory Regulation.

Does Colonel Skinner hold a commission in the Company's service ?

He holds a local rank in the Company's service.

Is he descended from a native mother ?

He is.

Colonel Skinner is an officer, who has served with great distinction

Yes, he has signalized himself on many occasions.

Are you aware that there was any disinclination to serve under Colonel Skinner, on the part of the natives of India?

I am not aware of such a thing.

You never heard of any objection being raised against him, on the ground of his mother having lost caste?

No, I am not aware of that.

There is also a complaint with regard to non-employment of the persons of your class by Native Powers; that there is a restriction upon your employment by the Native Powers?

Yes.

Do you know any instance of any persons of your class being employed by Native Powers?

There were many employed by the Mahratta States; and I believe there are some still in the service of some of the Native States.

Do you refer to the independent Mahratta States, over which the Company has no control?

Yes.

In those States, over which the Company has a control, are persons of your class employed, without obtaining permission from the Government?

It is generally understood that they cannot be so employed, without the permission of Government.

Has that permission been refused, to your knowledge, when applied for?

I am not aware of any particular instance, in which it has been refused.

If that permission be granted, it is always liable to be recalled; is it not?

Yes; should any disturbance arise, or any war break out, they are required to return to the Company's territories. The Mahratta officers, who were employed in the years 1801 and 1802, were invited back to the Company's territories, upon the promise of being pensioned. There were some who availed themselves of the pension, and came to the Company's territories; there were others who were barbarously murdered by the Native Princes, the moment they came to the knowledge of the circumstance.

The treaties with the Native Powers only prevent Europeans being employed; therefore under what head do you come, as you are not recognized as Europeans in the interior?

We are sometimes recognized as Europeans, and sometimes as natives, as it serves the purposes of the Government; there is no precise character affixed to us in that respect.

You are generally recognized as natives, except within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court?

Yes; and yet those officers who were employed by the Mahratta States, were threatened to be dealt with as traitors, if they did not return to the Company's territories on the announcement of the order.

What Mahratta States were those?

Scindiah and Holkar.

Are there any Institutions in Calcutta for the education of the children of persons of your class?

There are both public and private schools.

Is the expense of those schools defrayed by yourselves, or do you receive any assistance from Government?

We have never received any assistance from Government, in any shape whatever.

There are funds applicable, by Act of Parliament, for the education of the natives?

There are; but we are not included in that grant. We have never received any assistance from Government in the education of our offspring.

Therefore, the expense is entirely defrayed by yourselves?

Entirely so.

Is there any other grievance, which you wish to state to the Committee?

With regard to our not being employed by the Native States, I know of some instances where a penalty bond has been taken from persons going out from this country to India, under two securities, that they should not enter into the service of any of the Native States. East Indians who have come to England for education, when they have applied for permission to return to their native country, have been allowed to do so, but under a penalty bond, that they should not enter into the service of any Native State.

Can you state the number of persons of your class in the province of Bengal?

I should think that the number would not be over-rated, if I estimated it at about 20,000, more or less, in Calcutta and all the provinces. There was a Police Committee Report made in the year 1822; and the Christian population in Calcutta alone was estimated at 13,138, of which there were 2,254 Europeans; consequently we are included in the remainder; that is, about 10,884. The number must have increased considerably since 1822.

The number increases in proportion to the number of Europeans employed?

We out-number the Europeans very considerably, certainly.

More Europeans being employed in consequence of the increase of territory, your numbers are upon the increase?

Yes, and from the offspring of intermarriages.

You stated that, in the provinces, you, being Christians, were subject to the Mahomedan criminal law ; is not that law much altered and modified by the Company's Regulations ?

Yes, it is considerably modified.

Are not all native-born subjects of the King subject to the same law for any offence less than felony, in the provinces ?

I am not aware of the extent to which they are. They are not understood, certainly, to be subject to the criminal law of the Mofussil Courts.

Are they not liable to be punished for offences less than felony by the Company's Magistrates in the provinces ?

I am not aware of that circumstance. I have not resided in the interior to know the fact.

Will you turn to the Act of Parliament of the 53d Geo. 3d, Cap. 155, and state what enactment is contained in that clause, with regard to criminal offences committed by British subjects in the provinces ?

By this it appears that they are liable to be punished for any offence, not being felony, by the Magistrates of the Zillah Courts. I do not know that that has ever been put into practice, which made me doubt the fact.

You have stated that, although subjected to the Mahomedan criminal law, you are not permitted to avail yourselves of the Mahomedan civil law, being Christians ; will you state under what civil law you consider yourself to be placed in the provinces ?

What I meant to say, was this ; that, as Christians, the Mahomedan civil law does not apply to us, so as to render it desirable for us to avail ourselves of it. It is exclusively applicable to Mahomedans ; it applies to their case, not to the case of Christians. It is a singular anomaly, that a Christian subject, under the British Government, should be subject to the Mahomedan civil code. The Mahomedan civil code goes entirely upon the principles of the religion professed ; it is based entirely upon the Koran.

Are you acquainted with Regulation III. of the year 1793, by which all natives and other persons, not British subjects, are amenable to the jurisdiction of the Zillah and City Courts, and those Courts are empowered to take cognizance of all suits and complaints respecting the succession or right to real or personal property, lands, rents, revenues, debts, accounts, contracts, partnerships, marriage, caste, claims to damages for injuries, and generally all suits and complaints of a civil nature. By the same Regulation, in cases coming within the jurisdiction of those Courts, for which no specific rule may exist, the Judges are to act according to justice, and equity, and good conscience. By the same Regulation, in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Mahomedan laws with respect to Mahomedans, and the Hindoo laws with



regard to Hindoos, are to be considered as the general laws by which the Judges are to form their decisions. Do you apprehend that, under that Regulation, any Christian engaged in a civil suit, would be obliged to have that suit determined according to the law which was solely applicable to a Mahomedan ?

I certainly think so.

What civil code is in use in the provinces, as regards Hindoos ?

If the party be a Hindoo, there is the Hindoo code for him ; if the party be a Mahomedan, there is the Mahomedan code for him ; but there is no express provision made for Christians.

Supposing a person of the half-blood to be the son of a Hindoo mother, do you apprehend that that person would be considered as a Mahomedan, and that his civil suit would be tried according to the Mahomedan law ?

I think that they are generally taken for Mahomedans, and dealt with accordingly.

Do you not think that, under the Regulation of which the substance has been stated to you, the Magistrate would have a power of acting in such a case according to justice, equity, and good conscience ?

It may be so ; but that is a very dubious principle ; and it would be left entirely to the Magistrate's own sense of justice, or his own feelings on the subject. The Magistrate may certainly act upon the new principle with regard to Christians, if so inclined.

Are you aware of any practical grievance that has been sustained by persons of half-blood, in consequence of the present state of the law of the provinces, in regard to civil suits ?

I have not resided in the Mofussil, and therefore my acquaintance with the practice of those Courts is very limited ; but what we complain of, is the principle of the thing, more than the practice : the principle is odious.

Will you state what description of offices are now held by persons of the half-blood ?

They are principally employed in subordinate capacities in the public offices of Government.

They are employed very extensively as writers, are they not ?

They are.

And as clerks ?

Yes.

As clerks in merchants' houses ?

Yes.

As clerks in the Customs and the Revenue Department ?

Yes.

And in the Judicial Department ?

They are generally employed as clerks in the different Departments.

In the Military Department?

As clerks in all the different Departments of Government.

Can you state whether they are employed in the Police of the country?

They are employed as clerks in the Police department.

Are they employed in the Irregular Corps?

They have been so employed; but the Corps were disbanded, and they were thrown out of employment.

As long as they existed, they were employed in the Irregular Corps?

For a time they were, during the Nepal war; that is, as long as the exigencies of the Government required their services.

Can you state the highest salaries received, in any case, by a person of half-blood?

They have received salaries as high as four and five hundred Rupees per month.

That is about £ 600 a year, is it not?

It is; these are very rare cases indeed; there are not many such cases.

Are there many persons of half-blood, who, in your opinion, are qualified to hold high situations by their education?

Certainly. I say so with the most perfect confidence.

Can you give the Committee any idea of the number of persons, whom you consider qualified to hold higher situations than those now filled by persons of that class?

I dare say we might collect about 500 persons of that description, calculated to hold situations of trust and responsibility.

How are those persons now employed?

They are employed, as I have before stated, as clerks in different public and private offices.

Your opinion is, that a well-educated clerk is fit for a much higher situation?

I mean to state that their talents are not brought into proper exercise.

You have stated the number of persons so employed as clerks to extend to 500?

I should think there must be about 1,000 or more of them, altogether.

Do you mean in Calcutta alone?

Yes, in Calcutta alone; in the different public and private offices.

The total number of persons of the half-blood you stated at 20,000?

Yes.

Can you state the number in public offices?

There may be five or six hundred.

Are they extensively engaged in trade?

Some of them are.

Are they engaged in the maritime trade of the country?

Yes, they are.

To any great extent?

To a pretty considerable extent, as a beginning.

Is any large portion of the trade between Calcutta and China conducted by persons of the half-blood?

Not a considerable portion.

Are they, in any cases, Officers and Captains of ships engaged in that trade?

Some few of them are.

Are there any wealthy Mercantile Houses in Calcutta?

There are some.

Can you state the amount of the property of any House of persons of the half-blood?

Baretto's House was considered one of the wealthiest Houses in India; besides which, there are Lackersteen's, Brightman's, and Bruce and Allan's Houses.

Persons of half-blood, as the law now stands, and under the Regulations of the Company, can purchase land in any part of India; can they not?

Yes, they can; but under all the disadvantages of the case, arising from the imperfect state of the law, and from the corrupt administration of justice in the Mofussil Courts.

And they are not liable to be sent out of the country?

No, certainly not.

Therefore, they have those advantages which are not possessed by Europeans?

Yes, such as they are.

What establishments are there for the education of persons in your condition in Calcutta?

There is the Military Orphan School, which is supported by the subscriptions of the Army; and there are the Parental Academic Institution, and the Calcutta Grammar School.

How many persons may be educated in those three establishments?

There must be about 500 or 600 in the Military Orphan School, (the Upper and Lower Orphan Schools;) perhaps 800, including both sexes. There are about 130 or 140 boys in the Parental Academic Institution, and about 40 or 50 in the Grammar School; and there are private schools besides.

How high is education carried in those three establishments you have mentioned; to what age do the children continue there?

The age of seventeen or eighteen in the boys' school.

The boys and girls are not together till that age?

They are not in the same building.

Have they any means of education after the age of seventeen?

They have no collegiate education after that.

There are no means of collegiate education in Calcutta?

No, there are not; unless it be in the Bishop's College, which is confined to Missionary purposes. The Parental Academic Institution has done a great deal in that way; it has succeeded to a happy extent in raising the tone of education in the country.

Some persons of half-blood being educated as you have mentioned, and fit for higher situations than those they can now hold; there are others, are there not, who have no education, and who are in a state of great destitution?

Yes; there are others who are educated in the Free School, and in the Benevolent Institution, and other charitable Institutions.

In that number of 20,000 you have mentioned, do you include the children of common soldiers?

I include the whole number.

Can you state with any degree of accuracy the proportion which persons in that state of destitution, the sons of common soldiers, and persons of very low condition, bear to the more educated class of which you have spoken?

They must form the great majority.

What should you suppose to be the number of the educated persons, of whom you have spoken?

I should think there must be 1,500.

Of whom 1,000 are already employed; and of that 1,000, 500 or 600 in Government offices?

Yes.

Are those who are the children of common soldiers in all cases Christians?

They are brought up as Christians.

By whom are they brought up?

The children of European soldiers by native mothers, are brought up at the Lower Orphan School.

If born in the country, what is done?

They are sent to the Lower Orphan School.

How are they disposed of, when they grow up?

They are sent out as Drummers and Fifers, and so forth, and apprenticed to tradesmen.

Are there many of the half-blood, who are not Christians?

I am not aware of any; there may be some solitary instances. I understand, but know not how far it is true, that there are some Europeans residing in the interior, who, seeing the disadvantages

under which their offspring labour, have preferred bringing them up as Mahomedans. I have understood that there are some cases of that kind in the interior.

You are not able to give any general idea of the situations, which have been held by the fathers of those persons, to the number of 1,500, of whom you have spoken as educated?

They have been in the Civil and Military services of the Company, and in the King's Army, Merchants, Tradesmen, and others.

Are persons of that class residing in the interior, entitled to the protection of the Habeas Corpus Act?

No, they are not.

They are treated in that respect as native subjects, even though they may have purchased land in the interior?

Entirely as natives.

They are liable to imprisonment, at the discretion of the local Magistrate?

They are.

In the Petition which has been presented, it is stated that, by an enactment of the local Government, they have, as belonging to the above mentioned class, that is, the class of Hindoos and Mahomedans, been deprived as a body of the protection of the Act of Habeas Corpus; and the Regulation, to which reference is made in the margin, is Regulation III. of 1818. Is not that a Regulation for the confinement of state prisoners?

Yes.

The natives are not entitled to the protection of that Act?

No.

Therefore, the half-castes stand in the same situation as natives in that respect?

Yes.

Have you observed in the persons of the half-blood, who are in poor circumstances, a strong desire to improve their situation in general?

Yes, there is a strong desire of that kind.

Do you think they are under the influence of a stronger feeling in that respect, than the poorer class of Hindoos and Mahomedans in general?

Yes, from the nature of the education they receive, and the principles in which they are brought up. This gives a different tone to the mind.

Are you aware of any applications having been made to the Government for pecuniary aid to those schools you have referred to?

Yes; there were three different applications made to the Government. One was for the supply of medicines for the Parental Academic

Institution, and two applications for pecuniary assistance; but they were one and all refused.

Would not that assistance, if it had been afforded, have been as valuable, from the sanction that it would have afforded to the school, as from the amount of pecuniary aid that might have been obtained?

It would.

Are you aware of persons of the half-blood having been employed in situations that have required a remarkable degree of circumspection and propriety of conduct; as teachers of religion, for instance?

They have been employed as Missionaries in some parts of the country.

Have they been employed as preachers, or chiefly in the business of education?

In both. They have been employed as teachers of schools, and also as preachers of the Gospel.

Have you heard of their having subjected themselves in those employments, to any degree of reproach or censure?

No, certainly not; they are still so employed.

Do you not think that the influence which they would possess in such employments, would be very much increased by the removal of those restrictions to which they are now subject?

Certainly. It is a thing for which the natives themselves cannot account, that the Government should reject, as it does, their own Christian offspring, and treat them with marked neglect and proscription.

Do you not think that the disadvantageous situation, in which they are now placed in the Provincial Courts of Law, is extremely unfavorable to their employment, and the means of investing capital in those situations?

It operates very injuriously in that way; it must prevent their residence in the interior.

Can you form any idea of the proportion in which persons of the half-blood have increased within the last ten years, as compared with the European population?

I cannot form any precise idea of it; but the population has increased very rapidly within the last fifteen or twenty years, and is still increasing. The full tide of our population has flowed in, and must increase; there is no stopping it.

Are the same branches of knowledge taught in the schools in which the persons of half-blood are educated, as in the European establishments?

The same. My opinion of the education in Calcutta is such, that, having brought two of my own sons to England for education, and not being satisfied with what I have seen in this country, it is my

intention to take them back again to be educated in Calcutta. I give the preference to an education in Calcutta ; that is, I see no necessity for the sacrifice of tearing children from their parents, and sending them away to England for education.

Is more attention paid to the acquisition of the native languages in the schools, in which persons of half-blood are educated, than in others ?

Yes. We employ Native Teachers for instruction in Bengalee and Persian. That is a particular branch of education.

Do you not think, then, that, if the restrictions under which they now labour were removed, their proficiency in the native languages would give them a very considerable advantage over every other description of inhabitants of India ?

Certainly. As natives of the country, and as fixtures of the soil, they might be rendered instruments of great good to the country. If the real interests of India be sought, those interests cannot be more effectually promoted, than through the instrumentality of those who have been born, educated, and are destined to spend their lives in the country ; that is my firm opinion.

Will you state whether you are acquainted with any instances of persons of your class, who have been subjected to detention by the Government under the Regulation of the year 1818 ?

I am not aware of any instance.

You are one of the persons who have signed the Petition, to which reference has been made ?

I am.

You state in that, that the Rule and Regulation of the Government of the East India Company has, by clear and express declaration, included your Petitioners in the class of native subjects of the British Government. Is the offspring of European fathers, and of Indian mothers, supposing a marriage to have taken place, classed by those Regulations as native subjects of the British Government ?

If born in wedlock, by the law of England they are British subjects.

They are entitled to all the privileges of British subjects ?

Clearly ; but, practically speaking, they labour under the same disabilities as those born out of wedlock.

The grievances of which this Petition complains, refer to those that are illegitimate children ?

Yes, and also to their offspring born in wedlock.

Have you known any instances of Europeans being married to native women ?

There have been one or two instances. I think Mr. Harington, who was afterwards a Member of Council, married a native woman.

Do not such instances occur among the European soldiers and persons in that rank of life ?

They are married to native Christian women, but not to Hindoos and Mahomedans. I mean that they are married to Portuguese women, as they are called.

The ladies of half-blood are very extensively married to Europeans, are they not ?

Yes, they are.

In their case, their offspring become entitled to all the privileges of British subjects ?

Yes ; but, should we marry European women on our part, our offspring are not British subjects.

Do you think that, if the half-castes were put on the footing desired by that Petition, that would tend very much to increase the number of them ?

I do not know that that would tend either to increase or decrease the number ; but it would certainly tend to place them on a more satisfactory footing.

Is it not the case as to the illegitimate son of a Hindoo mother by an European father, in the case of his civil affairs, they would be governed by the Hindoo code ; and, if the son of a Mahomedan mother by an European father, then by the Mahomedan code ?

That would strictly be the case ; but they are generally dealt with as Mahomedans in the native Courts.

Might not the son of a Hindoo mother claim that his suit should be decided according to the Hindoo law ?

Certainly he might do so ; there could be no objection to it.

The Judge could not refuse so to decide ?

No, he could not.

Would the appointment of persons of your class to offices, from which they are at present excluded, raise their respectability in the eyes of the natives ; or would it be seen by them in an unfavorable light ?

It would raise them in the estimation of the natives, who are at all times disposed to identify them with their fathers ; and it is the marked distinction that prevails, which attracts their notice ; it is a thing for which they cannot account.

You mentioned that your applications to the Government for pecuniary assistance to the Institutions for education were refused ; do you remember the grounds on which they were refused ?

There was no reason assigned. The letter merely stated that Government did not deem it expedient to comply with our application.

There was nothing in the letter, which could lead you to suppose it was grounded on any principles applicable alone to the class of half-castes ?



Coupling it with the general tenor of the Company's policy towards our class, it could have made no other but that one impression, that the refusal was grounded on the application having come from our class, and on the Institution, in fact, being an Institution that originated in, and was supported by our class.

Was not that answer which you received from Government, the same as had been returned to similar applications from different descriptions of charities ?

I remember Dr. Marshman having made an application for pecuniary assistance for the Benevolent Institution, and that application was complied with ; and Mr. Thomason having made an application for the Female Asylum, which was also complied with ; and the Government made a similar grant to other Institutions, in consequence of applications from Europeans in their behalf ; such as the Free School, and some others.

Do you recollect any instance of grants having been refused, which were applied for on similar grounds to that you referred to ?

I am not aware of any.

What situation do you hold yourself in Calcutta ?

I was in the office of the Board of Customs.

State the name of the office ?

Deputy Registrar.

What was your salary ?

Three hundred Rupees a month.

Have you any objection to state who your father was ?

He was an Ensign in the Engineers, and died at the siege of Seringapatam, in the year 1792.

Where were you yourself educated ?

In Calcutta ; in the school supported by the Army, the Military Orphan Society.

Did you go to any other school, after you left that ?

No, I did not. There is one circumstance that I omitted to state, which is this, that many of my countrymen have been educated in England, Scotland, and Ireland ; but, on their going back to India, they have been so much disappointed at the state of things, that they have, in many instances, returned to Europe to seek a livelihood, finding that the door was completely shut against them in their own native country ; I mean men of the first-rate education.

Did those persons return to India, during the life-time of their fathers ?

Yes, in some cases. There was a son of a General officer, who returned in the year 1825 ; he had obtained the diploma of Doctor of Medicine, and went out to practice ; but he found that the state of society was such as to compel him to return to Europe, and I

believe he is now practising in this country. There have been some other instances of this kind.

Have those persons generally returned to India as men to seek their own livelihood ; or were they called to India by their fathers, after having completed a portion of their education in this country ?

In some instances, they have been called by their fathers ; in others, they have gone out of their own accord.

Have they, upon arrival in India, been excluded from the British society ?

Not altogether excluded ; but they have soon been able to feel the public pulse on the subject, and they could not brook any thing of that kind ; and they would, therefore, much rather return to Europe, than drag out an uncomfortable existence like that in India.

Are any of them practising to any extent in the medical profession in India ?

There are two or three.

They are received in society, of course ?

They are received in a certain class of society.

There was nothing in the Company's Regulations that prevented the employment of the physician, to whom you have referred ?

No, not applicable to him individually.

Was he employed by Europeans ?

He did not remain long enough in Calcutta to ascertain that ; the moment he saw the state of things, he returned to England.

The witness is directed to withdraw.



## No. 15.

Lord Carlisle presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts ; and begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of the copies, which have just reached him.

He is aware that the observations he made, upon presenting the Petition to the House of Lords, were very imperfectly, if at all, reported. He must, however, be allowed to say, that he did state the various grievances, which were enumerated by the petitioners, and concluded with professing that he was actuated by no unfriendly feeling to the Government of India, or to the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control ; and that he was disposed to believe, that the noble Lord was sincerely desirous of correcting the anomalies detailed in the Petition, and of remedying the grievances, and ameliorating the condition of what must be considered an unfortunate portion of the population of British India.

If Lord C. had been apprized of the intention of publishing the debates upon presenting the Petitions in the two Houses, he could have easily furnished the short account of what he did say. As the statement appears at present, it omits what he did say, and puts words into his mouth he never used.

Lord C. must also observe, that he was aware that it was the intention of the Committee of the Lords to examine Mr. Ricketts, and imagined that his evidence would afford more information than a discussion in the House.

*Grosvenor Place, June 9th, 1830.*

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

6, Cloudesley Terrace, Liverpool Road.

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No. 16.

Mr. J. W. Ricketts presents his compliments to Lord Carlisle, and is extremely sorry to find that the report of his Lordship's speech, as given in the Parliamentary Debates on the East Indians' Petition, is so very imperfect.

Mr. Ricketts was of course very anxious to obtain a correct report of the debates; and, not relying on what appeared in the Newspapers, he had recourse to the Mirror of Parliament office for their version of them; but he regrets to be still disappointed.

Mr. Ricketts unfortunately reached the House of Lords a little too late to hear what took place on the occasion; as he was misinformed as to the usual hour for the commencement of business.

Mr. Ricketts begs to apologize to Lord Carlisle for his apparent want of attention in not making his Lordship acquainted with his intention to publish the debates, which was formed only since the presentation of the Petition in the Commons.

6, Cloudesley Terrace, Liverpool Road, 10th June, 1830.

Right Hon'ble Lord Carlisle,

12, Grosvenor Place.

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### No. 17.

*London, 6th May, 1830.*

SIR,

Deeply interested as we are in the abolition of the civil and political disabilities complained of in the East Indians' Petition to Parliament, which found in you so able an advocate in the House of Commons on the 4th instant; we, the undersigned, now resident in London, feel that we should be culpably wanting to ourselves, if we failed to offer to you, in a collective capacity, the tribute of our warmest gratitude on the occasion.

We beg to assure you, Sir, that we attach a high value (but no higher than they deserve) to your truly honorable and praiseworthy movements in behalf of a public cause, which involves the dearest interests of a numerous and an encreasing class of the Christian population in India; and we are fully persuaded, that the heart-felt expression of our sentiments in this respect, is but a slender prelude to a rich harvest of grateful feeling, which still awaits you in that country.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servants,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS,  
 „ R. ALEXANDER,  
 „ E. BARNFIELD,  
 „ H. C. R. WILSONE,  
 „ JOHN HORACE FREER,  
 „ WILLIAM HENRY HARTON,  
 „ H. MASEYK,  
 „ W. TOMKYNs,  
 „ RT. STEWART,  
 „ T. HOGAN SMITH,  
 „ JOHN ARCHD. CASEY.

Right Hon'ble C. W. Williams Wynn, M. P.  
 20, Grafton Street, Bond Street.

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 No. 18.

Grafton Street, 12th May, 1830.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter yesterday transmitted to me from yourself and the other gentlemen interested in the abolition of the civil disabilities complained of in the Petition presented on the 4th instant.

You will oblige me by assuring those gentlemen that I feel highly gratified by their approbation of the manner, in which I discharged my parliamentary duty on that occasion.

The reception which the Petition experienced from every part of the House of Commons, encourages me in a sanguine hope that the grievances complained of, may shortly receive that relief which justice and policy equally require.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road

No. 19.

*House of Commons.**Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company.*Jovis 17^o die Junii, 1830.

William Ward, Esq. in the Chair.

ORDERED,

That John William Ricketts, Esquire, do attend this Committee on Monday next, the 21st instant, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) Wm. WARD, *Chairman.*

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## No. 20.

*Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1830.*

William Ward, Esq. in the Chair.

Lunae, 21<sup>o</sup> die Junii, 1830.

The Petition of certain Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, and the provinces in the Presidency of Fort William, which was presented to the House on the 4th day of May last, and printed in the Appendix to the votes, (vide Appendix No. 686,) and was on Thursday, the 17th of June instant, referred to this Committee, was read.

John William Ricketts, Esq. called in, and examined.

You are a native of Calcutta, and the Agent of certain parties in the town of Calcutta, who have presented a Petition in the course of the present session to the House of Commons?

I am.

What is the description of those persons?

They have been called by various names, such as Eurasians, Anglo-Indians, Indo-Britons, Half-castes, &c; but they have latterly selected the name of East Indians for themselves.

What class of persons are included in that description?

The descendants of European British subjects and European foreigners, by native mothers, legitimate and illegitimate, as well as their offspring.

Do you intend to include under that term, only the first degree of children, of the intermixture of British and Indian blood, or their offspring also?

I include the whole of their offspring also.

And the offspring of males of that description, whether by European or Indian mothers?

Yes.

What is your employment and situation at Calcutta?

I hold the situation of Deputy Registrar in the office of the Board of Customs in Calcutta.

By what number of persons was that Petition signed?

Upwards of 600 persons.

Are you able to form any estimate of the number of persons of this description?

From the data afforded by a Police Report, made in the year 1822, I should compute their numbers, in the Bengal provinces, at about 20,000, including men, women, and children.

What portion of these is living in the town of Calcutta?

About two-thirds, I should think.

Is it not the general practice of the King's troops serving in India to have native wives?

It is.

Do you know what is the number of King's troops usually serving in the Bengal provinces?

I cannot tell.

Do you include in this estimate only those of the description of East Indians, and not what are called native Christians?

No, the latter are not included.

Have you any means of forming an estimate of the number of the same description of persons, as those who have signed this Petition, who are resident in the other Presidencies?

Perhaps there are about 10,000 more in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

Of what caste or religion are the native mothers of most of those East Indians, who are within the Presidency of Bengal?

In the Bengal provinces, the greater proportion of them are Mahomedans of respectable families, but in reduced circumstances; they are, in many instances, Moguls and Patans.

Of what religion are those persons chiefly?

They follow the religion of their fathers, the majority of whom are Protestants.

Are there many Roman Catholics among them?

There are a good number of them.

Are there any Mahomedans among them?

There may be some solitary instances; but they have not come under my knowledge.

You have never come in contact with any such persons yourself?

No, I have not.

Are they all educated to speak the English language?

They generally are; perhaps with some few exceptions, where they have been neglected by their fathers.

Do they follow the habits and dress of the European, or of the native population?

Those who have been educated, are entirely European in their habits and feelings, dress and language, and every thing else.

Do they habitually speak English among themselves?

Entirely so.

Are there many instances of the intermarriage of the females of this description with officers of high rank in the service?

There are many such instances.

Is there a large proportion of the officers in the Company's service married to ladies of this description?

There is.

To what class do the children of these marriages belong?

To the class of their fathers.

Do you know any instances of the marriage of an officer with a female of unmixed Indian race?

I am not aware of any.

In that case, what class do you apprehend the offspring of such marriage would belong to?

The offspring of a marriage between an English officer and a native Indian, legally speaking, would belong to the class of the father.

To what law are the East Indians subject?

If residing within the limits of Calcutta, they are subject to the special jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. If residing in the provinces, they are subject to the Mofussil Courts, whose proceedings are regulated by the Mahomedan code, modified by the Company's Regulations.

Are you, therefore, to be understood, that any one of that class of persons, being accused of an offence committed out of the limits of the town of Calcutta, must be tried by a Judge, without the intervention of a jury?

Certainly.

How would he be tried for an offence committed within the limits of Calcutta?

He would then be tried by the Supreme Court, in common with all other natives resident within those limits.

To what civil law are you conceived generally to be amenable?

There is no code of civil law applicable to us in the Mofussil. The Mahomedan code is framed expressly for Mahomedans, and is not applicable to our case as Christians; it bears an oppressive character towards all who are considered infidels, which we are in the eye of the Mahomedan law.

What number of this class do you apprehend to be resident beyond the limits of the town of Calcutta, under the Presidency of Bengal?

About one-third, I should think; perhaps not quite so many.

By what law would their marriages be regulated ?

There is no definite law on the subject ; but, according to usage, they would be married by a Chaplain belonging to the establishment, if Protestants.

Is there any law, which defines the succession to their property ?

None whatever.

Would they possess the right of bequeathing property ?

There is no rule of civil law upon the subject ; we might possess the same right in that respect as Mahomedans.

Do you know whether, by the Mahomedan law, the right of bequeathing property exists ?

I should think so.

Is there any law, which declares whether, in the event of your dying intestate, the eldest son shall succeed to your property, or all the children equally ?

None whatever.

Do you conceive, that a free Negro, born in the West Indies, and resorting to the Presidency of Bengal, would be considered as a British subject in the Courts of law ?

I conceive so ; for, if he be a British subject in a British colony, in the West Indies, he must necessarily be such wherever the British law prevails.

Would he, therefore, be entitled to privileges, which the class whom you represent would not possess ?

Certainly ; technically and legally speaking, he would be so ; but it is another question whether the Judges of the Supreme Court would be disposed to class him with British subjects.

Will you enumerate some of the principal disadvantages, to which you conceive this class to be exposed ?

The disadvantages are set forth in the Petition ; and they are numerous ; for instance, we are deprived in a body of the protection of the Act of Habeas Corpus ; liable to be taken up on suspicion by any of the local authorities, and confined as state prisoners, and dealt with in all respects as natives, without the right of appeal to the Supreme Court. This is the case in the provinces.

Are you liable to the summary jurisdiction of the provincial Judges, whether Europeans or natives ?

Yes.

What punishments are you liable to, which may be inflicted at the discretion of the Judge ?

We are liable to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished, at the discretion of the Judge.

Or to trial even for capital crime ?

Certainly.



And, in none of those cases, can you claim the intervention of a jury?  
No, we cannot.

What situations, of a civil nature, are you considered eligible for?

We are excluded from the regular service of the Company, civil and military; and none but the subordinate situations in the public offices of Government are open to us.

What subordinate situations?

The situation of clerks.

What is the highest situation you have ever known to be held by one of your class, in point of salary?

Their salary has been 300, 400, and 500 Rupees a month; and sometimes a personal allowance of 100 Rupees a month, has been added to the salary in such cases.

What is the highest office, in point of rank, you have known to be filled by an East Indian?

The situation of Registrars in the public offices, in different Departments.

Are they admitted into the military service of the Company?

They are excluded from the military service.

Do you mean from holding commissions in the Army?

From holding commissions in the Army.

Do they serve as private soldiers?

They do not.

Are they disqualified from so serving?

Yes, by the prohibition of the Court of Directors; and every appointment of cadetship that is made in the military service, runs thus: "Provided he be not the son of a native Indian." This rule has been relaxed within the last one or two years, and is now confined to the immediate descendants of a native parent on either side. The restriction is, however, still in force with regard to that portion in the first degree of descent.

Are they considered as eligible to hold the offices usually given to the natives of India?

They are not; the offices alluded to are confined entirely to the natives, either by usage, or by the rules of the service.

What are those offices?

Moonsiffs, Pundits, Cazees, Sheristadars, and such like.

Are there any other employments in the Police, or Judicial, or Revenue Departments, which natives are admitted to, from which the East Indians are considered excluded?

The East Indians are generally employed as clerks in different Departments, and in no other capacity.

Were an East Indian educated as a Mahomedan, would he be considered as eligible to those offices?

Certainly he would; were he to abjure the Christian faith, and to embrace the Mahomedan religion, he would at once be rendered eligible.

Has that exclusion always subsisted, with regard to military appointments?

The Company's service, both civil and military, was open to the class of East Indians prior to the year 1791.

Were there many officers at that time in the service, of this description?

There were.

Are there any of those now remaining in the service?

There are some.

Was the Bombay Army at any time commanded by a General officer of this description?

It was. General Jones was an East Indian, who commanded the Bombay Army during the campaigns of 1803, 1804, and 1805. Colonel Stevenson, the present Quarter-Master-General of the Army, is also an East Indian; he has held the situation for many years past.

Have you ever heard of any disadvantage, which is supposed to have arisen from the admission of these persons into the Army?

Never; on the contrary, they have generally been considered gallant officers in the field, and are capable of military exploits as much as Europeans. The late Major Nairne, for instance, an East Indian, was so gallant as repeatedly to encounter a tiger single-handed on horseback.

Are there any other East Indian officers of distinction that you are aware of, who are now serving?

In the King's Army, there is Major Deare; and there are Captain Rutledge, Lieutenant Mullins, and a few others, in the Company's regular service; besides Colonel Skinner, who is in the irregular service.)

What number of men has he commanded?

I suppose he has commanded 8,000 or 10,000 men.

Are there not other officers in the irregular service?

I am not sure; but there is Major Hearsay in the Bengal Cavalry.

Would any of those officers be liable to the summary jurisdiction, which you have described, when resident beyond the limits of the town of Calcutta?

They are exempt as being employed in the Company's service; but I question whether the Supreme Court would recognize them as British subjects; so that they would be subject neither to the Mofussil Courts, nor to the Supreme Court.

Supposing any of those officers, who had married East Indian wives, resident in the limits of the town of Calcutta, would their wives be amenable to the Supreme Court, or to the native Court?

To the Supreme Court, while residing within the limits of Calcutta but to the native Courts, while residing in the provinces.

They would, therefore, be subject to fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment, at the discretion of the Judge?

Such is the law; but the force of public opinion, and their own good conduct, have hitherto screened them from such severities.

But still it would be in the power of the Judge to subject them to it!

Certainly it would.

Do you know any persons of that description, who have been admitted into the medical service of the Company?

I knew Dr. Lumsdaine, a very eminent man in his profession, who was Superintending Surgeon at Bencoolen for many years, and who has since retired to this country; but that was prior to the prohibition. There is another instance in the case of Dr. Breton, now in Calcutta, who is equally eminent in his profession.

Are there any East Indians, not in the service of the Company, carrying on medical practice?

There are; there is Dr. Lycke, who practised in Calcutta for many years, and retired with a large fortune to this country. I might also mention the names of Dr. Frith, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Imlach, Dr. Dick, Dr. Freer, and Dr. Casey. Some of these are dead, some still practising in Calcutta, and some in this country.

Was their practice much among Europeans?

Yes, it was. Dr. Lycke had a very extensive practice; and he has retired with a large fortune to this country.

Do you apprehend that he was under any disadvantage as to his practice, in consequence of his birth?

I suppose he laboured under a disadvantage, so far as the civil service was concerned; since they would rather employ men in the regular service.

What professions do they usually follow, those who are not employed in the service of the Government?

They are Indigo Planters, Schoolmasters, Architects, Printers, Carvers and Gilders, and Undertakers; they follow different trades.

Are many of them engaged in commercial pursuits?

There are some.

Are any of them men of much consideration and eminence in the mercantile line?

Yes, there are some. Mr. Bruce is the head partner of a respectable firm in Calcutta.

Are there any other considerable East Indian firms?

There are the firms of Lackersteen, Vignon, Mendes, Baretto, and Brightman; some of these have failed; and Mr. Kyd is the Master Builder of the Company in Calcutta.

Are any of them employed in lower situations of life?

In a very limited degree ; indeed, those situations are confined to the natives.

What, then, is the usual destination of the sons of private soldiers ?

There are many of them employed as Drummers and Fifers in the Army ; and they are apprenticed out to tradesmen and others.

Does that constitute the largest proportion ?

I should think so.

At whose expense are they apprenticed to those trades ?

At the expense of the Lower Orphan School.

Is the Orphan School founded for the reception of those children exclusively ?

It is.

Can you state the number educated in that school ?

There are about 800 or 900 children in the two schools together ; that is, the Upper and Lower Military Orphan Schools.

What is the number in each ?

I should think there must be about from 150 to 200, of both sexes, in the Upper School ; and about 600 or 700 in the Lower School.

Of what description are the children in the two schools ?

In the Upper School, they are the children of military officers ; and in the Lower School, they are the children of privates.

What becomes of those who are not admitted into that school ?

There are other charitable Institutions, which educate the poorer classes of the community. There are the Benevolent Institution, the Free School, and some others ; besides which, there are private schools.

Are there a sufficient number of charitable Institutions to supply education to the children of this class ?

A large number of the poorer class of children may perhaps remain uneducated, unless they are taken up by these charitable Institutions.

Are there, in fact, a considerable number of them, who remain uneducated ?

It used to be the case formerly ; but it is not so much the case now. There is the European Female Asylum also, which educates a number of female children of privates, by European mothers.

Can you state the whole number of children educated by charitable Institutions of this class in Calcutta ?

The Free School, I suppose, contains about 500 ; and the Benevolent Institution about 300 or 400 ; the Parental Academic Institution, which is not a charitable Institution, educates about 130 or 140 ; the Calcutta Grammar School educates about 50 or 60 ; and there are private schools besides.

Are those Institutions entirely confined to East Indians ?

Chiefly so, but not entirely: there is no restriction.

What other class of persons do they contain, European or Indian?

They also admit the children of European parents on both sides.

Are there any children of pure native blood at those schools?

None, except a few at some of the private schools.

Do you know any instances of persons of this description carrying on the profession of Attorneys or Solicitors?

There are some, who have been admitted as Attorneys in the Supreme Court.

What is the usual salary of an East Indian, who is employed as a writer or clerk in one of the public offices?

The majority of them are employed at low salaries; that is, from 50 to 100 rupees a month.

What would the salary of an European be, if employed in the same way?

In that respect, they are on an equal footing with Europeans; they earn as much as Europeans do.

Are there many instances of East Indians, who have been sent over to this country for education?

There are.

Have they received education equal to that with the Europeans in the Company's service?

Certainly they have.

Do you apprehend that they would require the same salary for the execution of the duties of offices of trust and confidence, as is necessary to be paid to Europeans?

I think that an East Indian might perform the same duties, (say the duties of a Collector or a Judge,) for one-third of the salary that a European would, with comfort to himself, and advantage to the public service.

State your reasons for that opinion?

The reason is simply this, that, the East Indian being a native, all his views and prospects are confined to the spot; and he has no idea of amassing a large fortune to return to a distant land, where he would be subject to various expenses, from which he is naturally exempt in India.

Do you conceive that, if the natives saw that they were equally eligible to such appointments, they would hold them in the same respect that they do Europeans?

Certainly they would.

Do you find that those East Indians, who have made considerable fortunes in the mercantile life, or those who have been admitted into the military service, are as much respected as Europeans would be, placed in the same situation?

Quite so; and I would instance the cases of Colonel Stevenson and Colonel Skinner in the service, and of Merchants, Indigo Planters, and others out of the service. There is no distinction made between East Indians and Europeans on the part of the natives; the distinction emanates entirely from another quarter.

From what quarter?

It emanates from the authorities in this country; they first originate the distinction, and then employ it as an argument for keeping us where we are.

Has that distinction been maintained by the authorities in India, or otherwise?

It has settled down into a fixed habit from long usage, in consequence of our exclusion from the service; and hence a feeling of illiberal prejudice has taken possession of the minds of some Europeans upon this subject.

Do you conceive that they are usually admitted into society upon an equal footing with Europeans?

In our various circles, we are.

Do you find that these prejudices have been increased, or diminished, during late years?

They have considerably diminished.

Do you know whether the same policy, which has been pursued in the British settlements, towards this class of persons, has been adopted in the settlements of any other power whatever?

I must say that a more liberal policy is adopted by the Dutch and French, Spaniards and Portuguese, in all their colonies; and no inconvenience has resulted from it. Sir Alexander Johnston told me that two-thirds of the Council at Ceylon were composed of gentlemen born on the island; and he found them to be the most efficient instruments in the public service, and that it was from them that he derived much information and assistance in every way. It was precisely this class of persons, too, who enabled him to carry the measure of slave-emancipation into effect; and the jury system was also brought into operation, through their instrumentality.

When you say 'gentlemen born on the island,' do you mean of European descent, or of mixed descent?

Of mixed descent.

Are East Indians capable of holding land in India?

They are.

Do they, in fact, in many instances, hold land?

There are some who are landholders, and to a pretty considerable extent.

To what extent?

I cannot say to what extent ; but there are some that hold lands, and derive a profitable livelihood from them.

Do they reside upon them ?

They do.

Do they cultivate their own lands, or do they farm them out to other persons ?

In some cases, they cultivate their own lands ; in others, they farm them out.

Are there any of them in the condition of laborers ?

None.

Neither in the town, nor in the country ?

Not in the condition of manual laborers.

Do you apprehend that they manage their property with profit to themselves ?

Yes, they do.

Do you consider that they possess an advantage over the native proprietors, or others ?

They possess equal advantages with them ; and, if there is any difference, it is on their side, arising from superior activity.

Do you know any instances, in which their superior education and superior activity have been productive of benefit, in which they have improved their estates to a greater extent than the native proprietors have done ?

I cannot call to recollection any particular instance.

Were you educated in Europe, or in India ?

I was educated entirely in Calcutta, in the Military Upper Orphan School.

What was the course of your studies ?

I was taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, the use of the Globes, English Grammar, and so forth.

Any Latin or Greek ?

No Latin or Greek.

In describing the class of persons, whom you denominate Eurasians, or Indo-Britons, do you include those descended from native mothers in the second degree ; that is to say, the children of East Indian parents on both sides ?

I do.

Do you not know that they are now, by the regulations of the Company's service, admissible into all stations, civil or military ?

Now they are, within a very short time. I was not aware of the fact till I arrived in England.

Would, then, a child of yours, by a wife of the same class, be admissible to the Company's service ?

I should think so, from what I have heard at the India House.

In what situation, would that person be considered in the eye of the law ?

He would be subject to all the legal disabilities, to which his father is subject.

You have said that, in general, the mothers of the class of persons whom you have described, are Mahomedans of respectable families, but reduced fortunes: is not that observation limited exclusively to the mothers of the children of officers and gentlemen in the Company's service, and not applying to the children of all Europeans of the lower order of life ?

Exactly so.

As to the general disadvantages you describe, under which that class of persons labor, do not you think that a great proportion, if not the whole of them, is ascribable to the illegitimacy of their birth ?

I do not think so ; because there are some gentlemen now in the civil and military services, who are the illegitimate children of European parents.

Are you aware that the legal disabilities, with regard to inheritance, would apply, by the law of England, equally to those illegitimate Europeans ?

The legal disabilities of course would, but not the political disabilities.

Is it not consistent with your knowledge, that none of the class to which you belong, have ever been recruited in the Company's Army as private soldiers ?

I am not aware of their ever having been so recruited.

If they were, would they not be entitled, of course, to all the privileges of a native soldier so recruited ?

They might certainly reduce themselves to the level of natives at any time, by professing the Mahomedan religion ; there is no bar to their descending so low.

What reason have you for supposing that their profession of the Mahomedan religion is necessary for the admission into the Company's service of any class ?

There are no Christians among the native troops ; they are composed entirely of Hindoos and Mahomedans. I have already stated that some of the East Indians are Drummers and Fifers.

If they were private soldiers, would they not be entitled to all the privileges of native soldiers, and rise in rank as the native soldiers do ?

It is a case not within the pale of probability ; it has never happened ; they have never been employed in that capacity.

You have stated that, in your opinion, the East Indians residing in the Mofussil are subject to the Mahomedan criminal law ; can you state any instance of any East Indian having ever been tried for any crime according to the criminal law of Mahomed ?



I am not aware of any instance that has come under my immediate knowledge ; but, if no such instance has happened, it is owing to their own good conduct ; they are still liable to that law undoubtedly.

Have you ever known an instance of an European committed for offences in the Mofussil by an English Judge ?

I have heard of a European foreigner having been committed.

Are not all East Indians residing in Calcutta, tried by the Supreme Court ?

They are, in common with all other natives,—as natives residing within the jurisdiction,—not as “ British subjects” in the legal acceptation of the term, as used in Acts of Parliament.

Is there any distinction between the trial of a native subject and a British subject in the Supreme Court ?

Certainly not ; we are treated as natives in all respects. If residing in Calcutta, we are subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court as natives ; if residing in the provinces, we are subject to the Mofussil Courts as natives.

Are you not subject to the same law, and to the same form of trial, with British-born subjects residing in Calcutta ?

We are, in common with all other natives.

Then there is no distinction between you and British-born subjects in that respect ?

There is not, nor between us and the natives.

Are you aware that a British subject, residing in the Mofussil, is amenable to the Company's Courts in all civil cases with a native ?

They are so to a certain extent, by reason of a bond into which they are required to enter.

You are aware that it is by a provision of an Act of Parliament ? There is an Act of Parliament on the subject.

Besides that, are not British subjects also, in criminal matters not amounting to felony, amenable to the Company's native Courts ?

Not to the native Courts, but to the authority of the Magistrate, as a Justice of the Peace ; and a report is to be made to the Supreme Government in every such case.

Are you not aware that British subjects are tried for criminal offences by Courts-Martial in the Upper provinces ?

Yes, they are ; but, with regard to the amenability of British subjects to the Mofussil Courts, I would state that there are certain Regulations, which have never been rescinded ; and which must, therefore, be still in force, as applicable to British subjects. Regulation II. of 1796, Section 2, says :—“ European British subjects, for all acts of a criminal nature, are amenable only to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta ;” and Regulation III., of 1793, Section 1, says :—“ All natives and other persons not British subjects, are amena-

ble to the jurisdiction of the Zillah and City Courts." These Regulations have never been rescinded; and, therefore, they must be held to be still in force.

Are you aware that a British subject, residing out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, is liable to the jurisdiction of the Company's Magistrates, for any breach of the peace, or any assault, or tre-pass, not amounting to felony, to punishment not exceeding 500 Rupees, or three months' imprisonment?

Yes; but that is to the authority of the Magistrate, as a Justice of the Peace, and he is to make a report of the circumstance to the Supreme Government; so that there is a broad line of distinction between British subjects and East Indians, even in that respect.

Of the East Indians residing in the Upper Provinces, are not a very large proportion in the service of the Company's Government, as clerks and assistants, and so on?

I cannot tell what proportion; but they are employed as clerks in the Collectors' and Magistrates' offices.

Then are those all necessarily relieved from the disabilities and disadvantages, which you have described, as servants of the East India Company; do not they become British subjects?

No, they do not; it is only the gentlemen in the Company's regular service, civil and military, that are thus exempt. The mere circumstance of our being employed as clerks in a public office does not exempt us from the jurisdiction of the Mofussil Courts.

Did you ever know an instance of a clerk in any of those offices tried by the Mussulman law, or considered as a Mussulman, or a Hindoo?

Legally speaking, they are so considered. If they have not been so tried, they owe it to the correctness of their own conduct, and the peaceable habits of life which they lead.

Have you known any of them tried at all?

I have known of some of them being tried in civil cases.

In what Court?

In the native Court; and in the case I particularly recollect, the party appealed to the Supreme Court, and his appeal was not admitted.

With regard to the right of bequeathing property, have you ever known an instance of the will of an East Indian challenged in the Supreme Court, on the ground of his being an East Indian?

I am not aware of it; no man would challenge the will even of a native in the Supreme Court.

Then what is the grievance, which you state, with regard to the bequest of property?

The grievance is stated in the Petition; which is, that "those of the petitioners, who live in Calcutta, within the limited jurisdiction

of the Supreme Court, are guided in their civil relations by the laws of England ; but the moment they pass beyond that jurisdiction, to reside either temporarily or permanently in the interior, they are thereby placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindoo, or Mahomedan." This is the main grievance, out of which every other arises.

What is the particular grievance, with respect to the bequest of property, which you represent ?

That there is no law on the subject.

Do you know of any instance in your recollection, of a person of your description having bequeathed his property ?

I do.

Was that challenged ?

I do not know that it was.

Could it have been challenged ?

I suppose a man can make a will, certainly. Our complaint is, that we are destitute of all civil law in these matters.

Is it not consistent with your knowledge, that East Indians are daily married by the established Clergymen of Calcutta ?

I grant that ; and still without any rule of civil law on the subject.

Did you ever know an instance of such a marriage being challenged ?

I suppose no one would go out of his way to do so.

Did you ever know an instance of the legitimacy of the children born from such a marriage being challenged ?

No ; and it still leaves the case as it was, that there is no law on the subject.

Did you ever hear of an East Indian, the son of a Colonel in the Army, being tried, convicted, and banished to Prince of Wales's island, by one of the Provincial Courts ?

I have heard of such a thing having happened.

Can you state the name of the person ?

I forget the name ; but I remember having heard of such a thing many years ago.

You have stated that there are East Indians in the service of the Company as registrars and clerks in offices, and that the highest salary they receive is 400 or 500 Rupees a month ; do you know a Mr. Boileau, a person of your class ?

I do.

What office does he hold ?

He is a registrar in the Persian Department.

Do you know the amount of his salary ?

I understand it to be 400 Rupees a month.

You say that East Indians are excluded from all judicial situations in the native Courts, such as Moonsiffs, Pundits, Cazees, and so on ;

are you not aware that the exercise of those functions requires a knowledge of the Mahomedan and Hindoo law ?

I am aware of that.

Is not, then, the reason of their exclusion, their incapacity to perform those functions ?

I do not know that ; because they are equally capable of studying the Hindoo and Mahomedan law as the natives themselves, if those situations were open to them.

How, then, are they excluded ?

Either by usage, or by the rules of the service. The first Clause of Section 8, Regulation XXIII. of 1814, says, " Moonsiffs to be either of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasion ;" and Clause 3 of Section 3, Regulation XXVII. of 1814, says, " Vakeels or Pleaders to be of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasion."

Are not Europeans also excluded from those offices ?

I suppose they are.

Then there is no distinction between your class and Europeans in that particular ?

There is no room for a distinction.

There is no difference, then, between your class and the Europeans, with respect to exclusion ; but you are subject to all the exclusions to which they are subject, except that of possessing land ?

Yes ; in respect to exclusions, we are identified with Europeans.

And you are subject to all the exclusions, which the natives are subject to ?

We are.

Are there not many offices, to which you are admissible, to which natives could not be admissible ?

I am not aware of that ; for natives officiate as clerks in the public offices, in common with East Indians.

You are aware that, if your education qualified you for it, you might be a Clergyman of the Church of England ; could a native be so ?

If he profess the Christian religion.

You have stated that, according to your conception of the law, persons of your class are liable to punishment, at the arbitrary discretion of the Judge, without the intervention of a Jury ; can you state one instance of such a punishment being imposed ?

I repeat again, that we owe it to the correctness of our own conduct, if we have not been brought under the lash of the law.

Then you admit that, practically, it is not a grievance ?

We owe it to ourselves that it is not so, from a feeling of self-respect which we entertain.

Are you not aware that the original exclusion of persons of your description from the Company's service, was an exclusion founded

upon the belief of your appearance and your colour being likely to affect you in the estimation of the natives of India?

I am not aware of that; we are held in equal respect by the natives of India with Europeans. I would instance the case of Indigo Planters and Merchants, who are scattered in different parts of the country; the Princes and the Nabobs visit them as they do Europeans, and treat them with equal respect. Rammohun Roy, a learned and respectable native in Calcutta, associates with us as he does with Europeans, and so would any other respectable native.

Is not, then, the prejudice existing against you, a prejudice rather founded upon the inadequacy of education of the great majority of the class, than upon any other ground?

I rather think not; for there are many persons who, in that respect, labour under the same disadvantage, and are still admitted into the service, merely because they are Europeans. It is not on the ground of disqualification that we are excluded; for, on that ground, many might have been excluded, who are now in the service.

Are not the Orphan Schools of Calcutta established by the Company, exclusively for the education of persons of your class?

The Orphan Society has been established by the Army, not by the Company.

Are the children of East Indians, on both sides, admitted at the Orphan School, or only children of native mothers?

Only the children of native mothers. The legitimate children are sent to that branch of the Institution, which is in England.

Would it not excite dissatisfaction among the natives of high rank, if the children of East Indians, on both sides, were admitted to offices from which they were excluded?

Certainly not.

Are not the East Indians generally far better acquainted with the vernacular languages of India, than Europeans?

They are.

You have stated that East Indians would fill the offices in the Judicial and Revenue Department for one-third of the expense that European functionaries cost; do you think there is a sufficient number of East Indians, who have received a good education, to fill those offices?

I think there are; and the work of education is going on very rapidly amongst us.

Then you think that two-thirds of the expense incurred by those establishments, might be saved?

I think so, if a different system were adopted.

Till the year 1827, were not the East Indians excluded from sitting upon Grand or Petty Juries?

**They were.**

Since they have been admissible, by law, to serve on Juries, have they, in fact, been generally summoned ?

They have been summoned, in common with Europeans ; and they have served.

Has any inconvenience whatever arisen from that ?

None whatever.

(Adjourned to Thursday next, one o'clock.)

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Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1830.

William Ward, Esq. in the Chair.

Jovis, 24^o die Junii, 1830.

John William Ricketts, Esq. again called in, and examined.

You have stated, that you consider the number of the class termed East Indians, in the Presidency of Bengal, to be about 20,000, including men, women, and children. Of this 20,000, what portion do you consider to be so educated as to be fit for public employments ?

I should think there are about 500, who are qualified to hold situations of trust and importance, and about 1,500 who may be considered as qualified to hold subordinate situations, from their being able to read and write, and understand the English language.

Of that number, what proportion are actually employed ?

About 1,000, or more perhaps.

Are not some of them engaged in trade, and possessing property ?

They are.

One of the principal grievances stated in your Petition is, that the East Indians, who reside in the Mofussil, are amenable to the Mahomedan code of law ; is not that law different from what it was under the Mussulman Government ?

It has been modified by the Company's Regulations, from time to time.

Is it not the fact, that, at present, there is a very large proportion of British law embodied in the Mahomedan law ?

It has been incorporated with it.

Is not the principal difference, in fact, in the spirit of the law, that the institution of Juries is not established in criminal proceedings ?

Yes, that is the principal difference ; and the grievance complained of, has also a respect to our feelings ; because we object, as Christians, to the principle of having any thing to do with the Mahomedan code, under a Christian Government.

To what code of law is a native Christian convert subject ?

To the same.

That is, to the law to which he was subject, before he became a convert ?

Yes.

You named a number of officers of the class of East Indians, who are employed in the Company's Army ; how came they to be employed, as the Company have a rule that they shall not be admitted into the Army ?

I merely state the fact. I do not pretend to account for it ; some of them were admitted prior to the prohibition.

Do you know whether those whom you mentioned, were of the first degree, or the second degree of native born ?

I think they were of the first degree.

Would they not, then, come within the prohibition ?

That is a question for others to consider.

You stated that the greater number of the native mothers of the East Indians, in the province of Bengal, are Mahomedans ?

The larger proportion of them.

Are there not a considerable proportion also, who are of very low Hindoo castes ?

There are some Hindoos ; but the Mahomedans preponderate in point of numbers.

Is it not the fact, that the feeling of the natives towards the class of East Indians is, in a great measure, affected by the low caste of their mothers ?

I do not think so ; they identify us with our fathers, and never inquire into the fact of who the mothers were.

Being considered as natives in the eye of the law, are the East Indians liable to any restrictions upon the holding of land ?

No, they are not.

And they are not liable to what is called deportation ?

No.

Therefore, in those respects, they enjoy privileges which are denied to Europeans ?

Yes, these are natural rights which we possess from our birth but we think it is not expecting too much, if we wish to be placed in other important respects, upon the footing of our fathers.

If you had the privileges of your fathers in those respects, and, at the same time, were permitted to hold land, and were exempted from liability to deportation, would you not, in those respects, be upon better footing than any other class in India ; the Europeans being forbidden to hold lands, and the natives being excluded from the appointments given to Europeans ?

I grant that ; but, as things are, the disadvantages are much greater on our side. What you refer to, might place us upon a superior

footing in those two respects; that is, with regard to holding lands and deportation.

In fact, you would enjoy the privileges of both classes, Europeans and natives?

As things are constituted, to a certain extent we should.

Would you consider the condition of your class to be generally improved, by being placed exactly upon a footing with British-born subjects not in the King's or the Company's service; that is, being placed in the exercise of all the privileges which the latter enjoy, and deprived of all advantages peculiar to your own class?

Upon the whole, it would be an improvement of our class; it would tend to the general improvement of society. These odious distinctions strike at the root of all civil and social improvement in India.

Are not British-born subjects in the interior of India subject only to the Courts of British law, except in civil actions with the natives, and in cases of offence not amounting to felony?

They are; and, even in those cases, I should still say they are subject to British law; because it is Parliament who empowers Magistrates to act as Justices of the Peace, and they are not amenable to the Mahomedan Courts.

Does not the privilege of holding lands, enjoyed by East Indians, constitute a difference, which makes it necessary that there should be a system of law more easily and universally applicable in the Mofussil, than that of the British Courts?

Europeans are also permitted, under a license, to reside in the interior; and they carry on traffic to a great extent, and have extensive dealings with the natives. Out of all this, there must arise many cases to render them amenable to some law. To a certain extent, too, they are but nominally prohibited from holding lands; since lands are, in point of fact, held by them; which proves that a bad law will be sought to be evaded.

But their holding lands is not recognized by the law?

It is not.

Any proceedings, therefore, which arose out of their holding lands, would not, in fact, be cognizable by the law?

Not in their own persons.

Do you conceive the law, which prevents Europeans from holding lands in India, to be a bad law?

I certainly do. I think it is injurious to the commercial and agricultural interests of India.

Supposing public employments were open to the East Indians of our class, do not you suppose that their qualifications for office would considerably increase?

Certainly they would; and, if a door of admission were opened to

them, they would qualify their children for the situations thus placed within their reach.

Are you not aware that some of the modifications, which have been mentioned in your previous examination, make the Mahomedan law more severe in its application to your class?

In some cases.

Can you mention any instance of that?

There are additional laws framed, and additional penalties prescribed by the English Government, which were not in existence under the Mahomedan Government.

Do you know that British-born subjects are not amenable to the Mahomedan law in any case?

They are not; except in matters of debt to a limited amount, where they enter into a bond to abide by the adjudication of the local Courts.

But persons of your class are subject to the Mahomedan law?

Yes, they are.

Persons of your class are also subject to the laws administered by the King's Courts in India, if you are within the jurisdiction of them?

Yes.

(Adjourned.)

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No. 21.

19, Great Cumberland Place, 6th July, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

In consequence of some mistake, I have only just now had the pleasure to receive your note of the 3d. I regret very much to hear that you have been unwell, and that you are by this time at Portsmouth, on your way to India.

Had I had the least idea that you intended to leave this country so soon, I should have made a point of calling at your lodgings, and, in person, wishing you a speedy and a prosperous voyage. I have many apologies to offer you, for not having long ago answered your letter upon the subject of the Burghers on the island of Ceylon; and I beg to assure you that I shall, in a few days, write you at some length relative to the principles according to which I regulated my public and my private conduct towards that most deserving and respectable class of individuals. My opinion on the question, on which you were deputed to this country, by your countrymen, and in which you have displayed so much knowledge and ability before the Committees of

the Houses of Lords and Commons, is well known to you; and I trust that your exertions will meet with the most perfect success.

Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.

P. S.—I hope that you will allow me to hear from you on your arrival in Calcutta, and that you will believe that I shall always be most happy to be of any service to your cause in this country.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

*On board the Tam O'Shanter, Portsmouth.*

~~~~~  
No. 22.

13, Brooksby Street, Liverpool Road, 6th May, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

You lately did me the honor to express a wish to peruse the East Indians' Petition to Parliament, with which I have been deputed to England by my countrymen in India; and it of course gave me great pleasure to put a copy into your hands. You are now doubtless made acquainted with the civil and political disabilities complained of in the Petition.

Aware as I am of your philanthropic efforts in behalf of the native Burghers at Ceylon, the descendants of European fathers, during your residence as Chief Justice and President in Council on the island, I shall esteem it a particular favor if you will kindly seize a moment of leisure to let me know the practical bearings and results of the measures pursued by you, and whether they turned out to be prejudicial in any way to the interests of the local Government.

I beg you will excuse my troubling you on the subject; and the best apology I can offer, and which I am sure you will as readily accept, is the vast importance of the public cause in which I am engaged.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

Hon'ble Sir Alexander Johnston, Kt.

19, Great Cumberland Place.

No. 23.

London, 10th June, 1830. 5, Millman Street.

J. W. Ricketts, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR,

It has occurred to me, and my conviction has been greatly strengthened by the concurring opinions of several intelligent and well-affectioned friends, that nothing would so effectually serve the cause of the *Anglo-Indians* as the return of one of their body to the British House of Commons. I know of no impediment, legal or moral, provided funds could be raised for the purpose; and I should most cordially lend my best assistance for the accomplishment of this interesting object. To succeed, would be to elevate *the class* into a position of equality—its effects in India must be exceedingly salutary, and in England scarcely less so. You would have an organ in the most eminent sphere of usefulness, whose existence alone would necessarily fling a lustre on those he represented. How could *they* long continue divested of the lowest rights, who took a share in the highest legislation? That especial care should be taken in the choice of an individual candidate for parliamentary honors, is too obvious to be insisted on. He should have the power of ready address, and as much of knowledge, virtue, and activity, as can be found among you,—moral and intellectual aptitude in such a high degree as may be accessible, and habits of business for the due discharge of his duties.

It is enough for me to have thrown out the hint, and to proffer any services which may help the cause of those, whose condition to meliorate is one of the highest claims on that country, to which, in truth, they owe their existence, and (would it were otherwise!) their present position.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

No. 24.

Rio Janeiro, 8th November, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

While at Portsmouth, I did not receive your promised packet of letters for Calcutta; so that I conclude you must have forwarded them through some other channel.

Our voyage has been hitherto very unfortunate. On approaching the Brazilian coast, the Captain proposed putting into Rio Janeiro for a supply of stock and water; but we have paid dearly for this whim of his. We got aground about 200 miles to the northward, between two reefs of rocks that run along the coast, where we remained two days before we could get off. At one time, the ship thumped so very hard, that we were in jeopardy of going to pieces; and the Captain began to fear that he should be obliged to abandon her. We were all accordingly prepared to go ashore with our knapsacks; but, very providentially, we succeeded in our last desperate attempt to cross a narrow channel quite unknown to all on board. We arrived at this place on the 10th September; and the ship has since been hove down for repairs. After so tedious a detention, we now expect to sail in a week or ten days; so that we are not likely to reach Calcutta before the beginning of February.

"So much for blarney; now for business," as Lord Byron says. I have committed our very important public cause into your hands; and India will, therefore, now look to you with confidence for all the help you can render, when the question comes on at the next session of Parliament. I am sure I need not add another word on the subject.

Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

*(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

P. S.—When you see Dr. Bowring, I will thank you to tell him from me, that a severe attack of illness prevented my taking leave of him, as I fully intended to have done, before coming away from England.

J. Crawford, Esq.

Care of Messrs. Burnie and Co.

124, *Bishopsgate Street, London.*

No. 25.
Cash.

No. 23.

Cash.

		Cr.	
<p> ed from the East Indians' Petition Committee, prepara- ry to my leaving Calcutta, Sp. Drs. 100, £ ved a set of bills on Messrs. Fletcher, Alexander, and of London, at 6 months' sight, ved from Messrs Fletcher, Alexander, and Co. the unt subscribed to the East Indians' Petition Fund, by Young, Esq. ved from ditto by a set of bills drawn by me on their use in Calcutta, </p>	<p> 19 9 1 480 10 11 20 0 0 51 2 7 </p>	<p> Personal expenses incurred in London, on account of myself and two sons, £ Messrs. Parbury, Allen, and Co., of Leadenhall Street, for printing 4,000 copies of Parliamentary Debates on the East Indians' Petition, as per bills, Mr. W. Hughes, of Islington, for printing 150 copies of the Petition, as per bill, Mr. J. Harris, of Cornhill, for transcribing my Evidence be- fore the Select Committee in the House of Commons, Carrier for the distribution of the printed Debates in London, Captain J. S. Lindsay, of the ship Tam O'Shanter, the amount of my passage-money to Calcutta, Commission, Interest, and Stamps, as charged by Messrs. Fletcher, Alexander, and Co. </p>	<p> 320 17 3 35 1 6 3 15 0 0 10 0 1 8 2 200 0 0 9 10 8 £ 571 2 7 </p>
<p> t on Messrs. Alexander and Co. of Calcutta, in favor Captain J. S. Lindsay, exclusive of Interest and Ex- ange, M-lreas, ft on ditto, in favor of Captain B. Winder, of the ship inaneus, Sa. Rs. 1,608 7 0 </p>	<p> £ 571 2 7 650 0 0 Sa. Rs. 1,608 7 0 </p>	<p> Personal expenses incurred at Rio Janeiro, during our deten- tion there, on account of myself and two sons, .. M-lreas, Captain B. Winder, for my passage in the Linneus; having been necessitated, under very urgent circumstances, to quit the Tan O'Shanter at sea, in about 5th S. Lat., Mad. Rs. 1,200 0 0 Personal expenses incurred at Madras, during our stay there, 463 13 0 on account of myself and two sons, 11 10 0 Commission, 2½ per cent. on the loan of Rs. 463 13, Madras Rs. 1,675 7 0 Deduct Exchange, 4 per cent. 67 0 0 Sa. Rs. 1,608 7 0 </p>	<p> F. E. JOHN W. RICKETTS. </p>

CALCUTTA, }
21st March, 1831.

No. 26.

On board the Linnaeus, in the Madras roads, 7th March, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have much pleasure in sending you a few pamphlets and printed copies of our Petition to Parliament, which may probably be new to many of our kind friends at Madras.

Now that I am on the wing for Calcutta, I cannot sail out of these roads, without expressing to you my most sincere and warm thanks for the many cordial marks of friendly attention individually shown me by our patriotic brethren at this place, and for the public dinner, and ball and supper, to which they collectively invited me, on Thursday and Saturday evening last.

The approbation of my fellow-countrymen, in reference to my simple and straight-forward exertions in a public cause, is the highest summit of honor, to which I aspire; and this reward, I must say, has fallen to my lot at Madras in the happiest degree. After all that I have seen and experienced during my short stay here, most unfeeling and stony-hearted indeed must I be, not to cherish every right impression made on my mind; and I shall always esteem it as one of the best days of my life that brought me to these shores among you.

I beg you will mention me in the kindest terms to all our friends, and make my cordial and respectful regards more particularly to the ladies, who honored us with their interesting company on Saturday evening last.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and well-wisher,

(Signed) JOHN W. RICKETTS.

P. Carstairs, Esq. *Madras*.

~~~~~

A.

To HENRY PALMER, Esq.

\* *Secretary to the Committee of East Indians, Calcutta.*

SIR,

Your Agent, Mr. Ricketts, proceeds by the same opportunity with this letter to Bengal, after bestowing upon the affairs entrusted to him, a most laborious, and, according to my humble opinion, a most able attention. During his stay in England, I have endeavoured to render to his cause whatever services were in my power, and have only to regret that the numerous other duties,

which I had to perform, as Agent for the inhabitants in general, did not enable me to devote a larger share of attention to the branch more particularly entrusted to him. The discussion of the questions, in which those of my constituents represented by your Committee, are more especially interested, will, in all probability, come on in the East India Committees, during the ensuing session of Parliament, when my utmost zeal and attention will be directed to them; and, in the mean time, I have to entreat that every opportunity may be perseveringly embraced of petitioning both Houses of Parliament for the removal of existing grievances. The wrongs endured by the class of East Indians, have, I believe I may safely aver, produced already a strong impression in the public mind in this country; but, judging from what has taken place in all similar cases, I am fully satisfied that no effectual redress of them can be hoped for, unless they are frequently and perseveringly brought before the public. Should such Petitions be forwarded, it will be my business to place them in the best hands, and to use every endeavour to produce discussion on the subject of them, both within and without Parliament.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) J. CRAWFURD.

*London, 6th July, 1830.*

## B.

### PETITION OF THE EAST INDIANS.

*TO THE HON. THE COMMONS of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta and the Provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William,*

**HUMBLY SHEWETH,**

1. That your Petitioners' are members of a numerous, increasing, and widely dispersed class of subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, living within the territories at present governed by the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, in the province of Bengal, and in the town of Calcutta.

2. That the body, of which they compose a part, forms a distinct class of society in British India, which dates its existence more remotely from the time when the East India Company first formed permanent establishments on the continent of India, but chiefly from the

more recent period, when the acquisition of immense territories required the presence of an increased number of Europeans to maintain and govern them.

3. That they are descended, in most instances, on the father's side, from the European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and, on the mother's side, from natives of India; and that, in other instances, they are the children of intermarriages between the offspring of such connections; but that, although thus closely allied to the European and Native races, they are excluded from almost all those advantages which each respectively enjoys, and are subject to peculiar grievances from which both are exempt.

4. The *first* grievance which your Petitioners beg leave to bring to the notice of your Honorable House, is, that *a very large majority of the class to which they belong, are entirely destitute of any rule of civil law, to which they can refer as a standard that is to regulate their conduct in the various relations of society.* Those of your Petitioners who live in Calcutta, within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, are guided in their civil relations by the Laws of England; but the moment they pass beyond that jurisdiction, to reside either temporarily or permanently in the interior, they are thereby placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindoo, or Mahomedan. By the rigid interpretation which successive Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, have given to the phrase "British subjects" in the various Acts of Parliament relating to India, your Petitioners are excluded from coming under that denomination, and are consequently prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Law of England; and, by their profession of the Christian religion, they are equally debarred from the adoption of the Hindoo or Mahomedan civil law; while there is no other civil code, to which they can have recourse as their guide in the various transactions and relations of life. However extraordinary the fact may appear, your Petitioners affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there is no law which regulates their marriages, and makes them lawful,—there is no law which shows the rule that is to define the legitimacy, or illegitimacy of their issue,—there is no law which prescribes the succession to their property,—there is no law which points out whether they possess the right of bequeathing by will, and if so, to what extent,—there is no law that declares which of their children, or whether one or all shall succeed in case of intestacy. In these, and in other equally important particulars, they have no law to direct or control them; and they are thus treated as utterly unworthy of any one of those rights, which it is the express object of a code of civil law to define, and the primary design of society and government to protect. Your Petitioners thus literally compose a



great body of outlaws, not made so by any crimes of their own, and on that very account feeling the more deeply the legalized wrongs that have been inflicted on them, and the contemptuous indifference and neglect with which their anomalous civil condition has been regarded. It is not, however, the invidious judicial construction of the doubtful language of Acts of Parliament, that has alone tended to degrade their civil condition ; nor have they even been permitted to enjoy the full advantage that would have arisen to them from the absolute and total neglect of that condition by their immediate rulers. A Rule and Regulation\* of the Government of the East India Company has, by clear and express definition, included your Petitioners in the class of "native subjects of the British Government," and has thereby subjected them to the numerous disabilities of their Hindoo and Mahomedan fellow-subjects ; while, by another enactment† of the local Government, they have, as belonging to the above mentioned class, been deprived in a body of the protection of the Act of Habeas Corpus ; having been made liable to be taken up on suspicion by any of the local authorities, and confined as state prisoners, without the legal possibility of ever obtaining their release ; since the only appeal they could have, would be to the local Government. Thus they are, not virtually and by implication, but directly and immediately denuded of the first and most important of all civil rights—personal security ; and they may, therefore, be justly considered as holding their property, their liberty, and even their lives, at the discretion of every powerful public functionary.

5. The second grievance under which your Petitioners labour, is, that they are amenable in the interior to Mahomedan criminal law,—a law in itself barbarous and imperfect, founded on the most intolerant principles, and intimately interwoven with a system of religion, and a state of society wholly opposed to their opinions and habits. The law of Mahomed was promulgated only for believers in the Koran ; and towards all who are considered Infidels, it bears a most oppressive aspect. Many of the punishments, when specific, are of a sanguinary description ; and, in others, an almost unlimited discretion is given to the Judge. It is arbitrarily administered ; and, though a right of appeal is in many cases allowed to the superior Court of Criminal Jurisdiction of the East India Company, called the Nizamut Adawlut, yet that tribunal possesses the extraordinary power, on such appeal, of increasing the punishment which is awarded at their discretion, and without hearing fresh evidence. The only modifications which the Mahomedan criminal code\* has received, in its application to your Petitioners, have been produced by the supplementary Regulations of the East India Company, which, instead of softening and mitigating its inflic-

\* Reg. VIII. of 1813.

† Reg. III. of 1818.

tions, have, in some instances, even increased the harshness of its character. In proof of this statement, your Petitioners beg to cite the third Regulation of the year 1821; by the express provisions of which, they are made liable, in all cases, to be dealt with as Hindoo and Mahomedan natives, of the lowest rank; and to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely at the discretion of the European Judges or Magistrates of the East India Company, but even of the Hindoo and Mahomedan officers of justice; while from the operation of this Regulation, not only British subjects, in the restricted application which has been given to that appellation, but also European and American foreigners resident in the interior, are exempted. Thus the law recognizes the existence of your Petitioners, only for the purpose of punishment, and never for that of protection; while the criminal code, to which they have been made amenable, is distinguished by the intolerance of its spirit, by the aggravated severity of its provisions, by its total incongruity with their religious belief and social condition, and by the deep-felt degradation to which, in its actual administration, your Petitioners are subjected.

6. The third grievance, to which your Petitioners are subject, is, that they are excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company. The invariable preamble to the appointment of an individual to any of these services, runs thus :—  
*“ Provided A. B. (the person receiving the appointment) be not the son of a native Indian,”*—a restriction which was first adopted by the Directors of the East India Company, on the 9th November, 1791, and which is always republished in the Gazette of Government, on the notification of the appointment of any one who may be then residing in India. Your Petitioners do not dispute the right of the Court of Directors to give the appointments in their service to those whom they may deem most worthy; but they humbly submit that no wise, just, or beneficent Government will ever impose any other general condition on candidates for employment, than fitness for the offices they may seek; still less will it exclude any class of men, on the ground of birth or colour, when it does not possess the power of limiting their increase, or of diminishing their number; and, least of all, will it wantonly add insult to injury, and to proscription a load of public and gratuitous contumely.

7. The fourth grievance of your Petitioners, is, that they are not only expressly excluded from all those offices of trust and emolument in the Civil, Military, and Marine services of the East India Company's Government, which are open to “British subjects,” but that they are also treated as ineligible to most of those subordinate employments

*in the Judicial, Revenue, and Police Departments, and even in the Military service, which are open without reserve to the Hindoo and Muhomedan natives of the country. Your Petitioners are prohibited from being appointed to the situations of Moonsif, Sheristadar, and almost all other inferior Judicial offices; they are prevented from practising as Vakeels or Pleaders in every one of the Courts of Justice of the East India Company, from the highest to the lowest; they are shut out from all the subordinate offices in the Departments of General Revenue and Police; and, in the Army, they are not permitted to fill the posts of native commissioned or non-commissioned officers, nor even that of a Naick or Corporal in a native Regiment, although leave is given to them to shed their blood in the ranks as Privates, and to officiate in the Regimental Band as Drummers and Musicians! Thus, of the many thousand subordinate employments under the local Government, there are few from which they are not excluded, except on condition of abjuring the Christian faith; in which case, their eligibility as natives of India would be at once restored.*

8. *The fifth grievance, of which your Petitioners complain, is, that they are expressly declared to be disqualified from holding his Majesty's Commission in the British Indian Army. The Commander-in-Chief for the time being of his Majesty's Forces in India, on the 27th of February, 1808, issued a General Order, still in force, by which no person can be recommended in India for any vacant commission in his Majesty's service, who belongs to the class of which your Petitioners compose a part. Your Petitioners humbly trust that his Majesty, in the exercise of his Royal Prerogative, will see fit to rescind this invidious order; and, though they are aware that it does not belong to your Honorable House to free them from the galling disability to which it has subjected them, yet they have deemed it important to be mentioned in this place, as an additional proof of that system of cruel proscription, of which they have been made the unoffending victims.*

9. *The sixth grievance imposed upon your Petitioners, is, that, by stipulations in treaties with all the Powers of India, which still preserve a shadow of independence, they are debarred from employing your Petitioners, in any capacity, without the permission of the Supreme Government of India. It is true that, in those treaties, only "Europeans and Americans" are expressly prohibited from being so employed; yet, although these are denominations under which your Petitioners cannot be classed, the restriction is practically applied to them also. Thus, by the limited signification which has been given to the phrase "British subjects," so as to exclude your Petitioners, who are subjects of the British Crown, they are exposed to intolerable grievances; and, by the extended meaning which has been given to the terms "Europeans and Americans," so as to include your Petitioners, who are natives of Asia,*

they are prevented, except under special license seldom given, and always liable to be recalled, from employing their talents and industry in the service of any of the Native Princes. In both cases, but by contrary means, alike cruel and unjust to your Petitioners, the one great object of exclusion is effected ; and thus, whatever step they take in life, and to whatever quarter they look, exclusion, disability, and proscription meet them at every turn.

10. The last grievance, to which your Petitioners will advert, is, that every plan proposed by others, or adopted by themselves, for the improvement of the class to which they belong, instead of receiving the fostering countenance of a paternal Government, has met with positive disapproval, or cold neglect, strongly contrasted with the active and liberal encouragement that has been laudably given by the local authorities to various Institutions formed for the benefit of other classes of the population. In support of this statement, your Petitioners beg to refer to the benevolent plan proposed by the late Colonel Kirkpatrick, in 1782, having for its object to secure a provision for the sons of European Officers by native mothers, by educating them in England, and obtaining Cadetships for them in the Indian Army. This scheme, which received the approbation of the whole Military service, and was not opposed by the local Government, was rejected in the most unqualified manner by the Court of Directors ; the residence of such children in Europe for education being that part of it, which especially called forth their reprobation. In the same manner, at a more recent period, two Institutions commenced by the exertions of your Petitioners, and devoted to the education of their children, called the Parental Academic Institution and the Calcutta Grammar School, amid severe pecuniary difficulties, and with the certain prospect of great advantage resulting from even a slight measure of assistance from Government, have been refused a participation with other similar Institutions in those funds, which the East India Company is required, by Act of Parliament, to apply to the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives of India. Thus their European parents are frowned upon, for endeavouring to send them to England for education. Your Petitioners themselves are discouraged in their humble attempts to extend the blessings of education among their own class in India. Every avenue of honorable ambition, and of social improvement, is shut up against them ; and it is with a keen and long-cherished conviction of the wrongs they have suffered from the race of their fathers, that they now bring themselves to the notice of your Honorable House, and respectfully ask for that equality of rights and privileges, to which, in common with every other class of his Majesty's subjects, they are unquestionably entitled.

11. Your Petitioners have now briefly enumerated the principal grievances, for which they seek redress from your Honorable House ; but the statements they have made, are very far from expressing the depth and the extent of the degradation which has been entailed upon them, and the numerous ramifications of the evils which they suffer. What they have styled their grievances, are not individual cases of grievance peculiar to one person, one time, and one occasion ; but they are classes of grievances, each class extending to the whole body to which your Petitioners belong, and all of them spread over the entire period of existence, pervading every transaction and relation of life, and doubly felt, first, in their own persons and fortunes, and, secondly, in the condition and prospects of their rising offspring.

12. However diversified and pervading the particular effects of the grievances your Petitioners suffer, there is one unvarying general result which they produce :—there is one point to which they are all made to tend:—and that is, to place your Petitioners in the situation of a proscribed class, to prevent their amalgamation with the European population, and to create and perpetuate against them the most mortifying and injurious prejudices. Your Petitioners are aware that the abolition of those social prejudices, of which they are made the object, cannot be brought within the scope of legislative enactment ; and it is with no such view that they seek for the interposition of your Honorable House. They trust to the loyalty and rectitude of their own conduct for that place and consideration in society, which belong to them ; but they think they have a right to complain, when the acts of the legislative and governing powers, instead of having a tendency to neutralize and destroy the prejudices that exist against your Petitioners, have had the direct and certain effect of calling them into existence. Your Petitioners neither ask, nor expect any special interference in their behalf ; but they warmly protest against those invidious distinctions which mark them, in the land of their birth, as outcasts and aliens, bereft of all privileges, and strangers alike to the rights of society, and to the feelings of humanity. It is surely not the characteristic of a paternal and an enlightened Government, which should be the common and equal Protector of all its subjects, to scatter with its own hands the seeds of discord, and to array the different classes of society against each other in bitter contempt and implacable hatred. Yet such is the undeniable tendency of the exclusive and contumelious system of misgovernment, under which your Petitioners have long suffered, and which, if continued, must produce in the class to which they belong, hitherto free from the slightest reproach of disloyalty or disaffection, permanent dissatisfaction, and even entire alienation of mind from the British authority in India.

13. Your Petitioners disclaim every invidious or unfriendly feeling in the contrast, which they have had occasion to present of their own depressed condition, with the superior advantages and privileges enjoyed by other parts of the population. There are numerous and weighty grievances which they suffer, in common with British-born subjects on the one hand, and with Hindoos and Mahomedans on the other; but which, as organs of a distinct class, your Petitioners have not considered it proper on the present occasion to detail. These common grounds of complaint have produced in their minds a sympathy with those classes; and in those instances, in which your Petitioners labour under peculiar disadvantages, they are far from wishing to bring their fellow-subjects to the same level with themselves, or to claim any exclusive countervailing privilege. Although professing the Christian religion, speaking the English language, and assimilated in dress, manners, and education to their paternal ancestors, they do not, on these or on other grounds, ask for any favours or immunities, which they would not equally solicit for their fellow-subjects of the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions. But being Christians, and descendants of Englishmen, your Petitioners humbly submit that it is cruel and unjust to make their belief and descent the grounds of civil outlawry, of degrading disqualification, and of a uniform and persevering course of contumelious and insulting treatment; and that it is especially inconsistent and impolitic in a Christian and a British Government to adopt and reduce to practice such an odious system of exclusion, and thus to fix marks of deep contempt and degradation on the partakers of their own blood, and the professors of a common faith.

14. Your Petitioners may be permitted to observe that, however strong the language they have deemed it requisite to employ in the exposition of their grievances, and however acute the feelings of which that language is the feeble and imperfect expression, they have never lost sight of the obedience and respect which have been claimed by their immediate rulers. From them, indeed, the condition of your Petitioners has not received the consideration which they had a right to expect, and which they earnestly hope your Honorable House will bestow. Their complaints, when presented in the most respectful terms, through the proper channels, have been treated as futile and unfounded; nor has any disposition been shown to alleviate the acknowledged extreme hardships under which they suffer. To the East India Company, therefore, in its own character, or to its local Government, your Petitioners, as a body, feel that they owe nothing. They have received from it no sympathy or redress—nothing but studied insult, contemptuous indifference, or at best empty profession. But in that Company and its servants, your Petitioners see the legally

constituted representatives of British power and authority in India; and they have, therefore, conscientiously discharged the duties of peaceable and obedient subjects, in the fond, although hitherto vain expectation, that their peculiar grievances would attract the attention of those who have the ability and, they trust, the will to remedy them.

15. Your Petitioners hope that it is only necessary to bring to the notice of your Honorable House the evils which have been entailed upon their body, to produce at once the disposition to remove them. With regard to such matters as may appear fit for the direct interference of Parliament, your Petitioners cannot doubt that an immediate remedy will be applied; and, with regard to such as seem to reside, during the existence of the present Charter of the East India Company, within the province of that body and their local Government, your Petitioners pray, that to them their rights and interests may no longer be committed, without appeal; and that, in any new Charter which the Legislature may grant, a clause may be inserted, expressly prohibiting, in all its parts, that system of exclusion directed against your Petitioners, which has hitherto formed a distinguishing feature in the policy of the Company's Government. They pray to be delivered from that state of neglect and abandonment, in which they have hitherto been allowed to remain, beyond the pale of civil law, ignominiously driven from all community of rights and privileges with any of the denominations of the society in which they reside. They pray your Honorable House to admit them to the fellowship of their fathers, to rescue them from subjection to institutions the most degrading and despotic, and to treat them as subjects of the British Crown, to which alone they recognize their allegiance to be due; and to which they desire to bind themselves and their posterity by the indissoluble ties of justice, and of gratitude.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

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C.

*Parliamentary Debates on the East Indians' Petition.*

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PREFACE.

THE debates which took place in both Houses of the Legislature on the East Indians' Petition to Parliament, as contained in the following pages, refer to a subject which involves the dearest interests of a numerous and important class of the Christian population in India, who are rapidly growing in intelligence, respectability, and numbers; and it, therefore, becomes very desirable to embody the

whole in the more convenient form of a pamphlet, for the sake of future reference.

It is a pleasing indication of the interest now taken in the affairs of British India, to find so many able advocates in Parliament, espousing a cause hitherto consigned to comparative indifference and neglect ; and every benevolent mind, expanded by right sentiments, must delight to see so manifest a change in this respect. Time was, when to speak of India, was to speak of a distant quarter of the globe, inhabited by a race of semi-barbarians, who were to be governed for the *exclusive* advantage of a commercial monopoly ; but a more just and liberal feeling now prevails in almost every quarter.

It has often been said that England suffers, in many instances, from a spirit of over-legislation. Whether this be the case or not, of India it may be truly affirmed that her wrongs arise from a contrary cause. Give her but a due measure of parliamentary legislation ; and she will ere long rise to pre-eminence in all those fundamental qualities, which distinguish one country from another.

It has been thought right to append a few marginal notes to the observations of some of the speakers in both Houses of Parliament, who have fallen into mistakes on which they have attempted to build an argument in support of their view of their subject.

*London, 10th May, 1830.*

### HOUSE OF LORDS, 29TH MARCH, 1830.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—I rise to present a Petition from the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William, praying for the revision of the laws affecting the native Christian population of India\*. I can only say, my Lords, that I have a most earnest desire that relief should be afforded to the petitioners, who labour under great hardships.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—This is far from being a favourable opportunity for entering into a discussion upon the statements of the Petition. I must, however, assure the Noble Earl that I feel, as every person of the slightest humanity must do, the greatest compassion for the unfortunate situation of the class to which the petitioners belong. I am fully conscious, too, that it is of great importance to alleviate the evils of their condition ; and no man will rejoice more at such a circumstance than myself, if a way can be found of doing so, without a violation of the principles essential

\* These are the descendants of Europeans by native mothers, and the offspring of intermarriages.



to the conservation of the British empire in India\*. There are some grievances stated in that Petition, which, if they practically exist, I think might be redressed without danger, and that at no distant period. If, for example, they lie under inconveniences with respect to the law of marriage, (or of succession), I see no reason why a remedy should not be applied. What, however, is really asked by the petitioners, is not an equality of civil rights, but an admission to privileges from which the great body of the native population of India are excluded. They are the illegitimate offspring of European fathers and native mother†; and they wish to be placed in a situation, such as is filled by illegitimate children in no part of the world‡. Nevertheless, since the arrival of the Petition in this country, it has received the greatest consideration both from the Board of Control, and the Directors of the East India Company. I am not prepared to state the result of that consideration at the present moment; but will say that there is every disposition to ameliorate the condition of the petitioners, and grant their prayers, as far as may be consistent with the two great objects we must always bear in mind, when legis-

\* Here is an apprehension of danger altogether without foundation, and is only calculated to mislead the English public. It is the same as saying, "If we do wrong, we are safe; but if we do right, we are surrounded with danger." Danger and insecurity may certainly spring from the wrongs and grievances of a discontented people; but, if the Petitioners have been uniformly loyal in their conduct under all the load of degrading disabilities heretofore systematically heaped upon them, is it to be supposed that the abolition of these disabilities would lead them all at once to abandon their loyalty for rebellion?

† The petitioners are persons born both in and out of wedlock, who labour alike under the same disabilities.

‡ Quite the reverse. In England, for instance, no inquiry is ever made into legitimacy or illegitimacy of birth, either to qualify or disqualify for office; and, if it were not thought invidious to mention names, many individuals might be pointed out as coming under the latter class, who nevertheless fill responsible and important offices in the state. On this very subject, too, speaking of the legal incapacity of an illegitimate child, Blackstone says—"And really any other distinction but that of not inheriting, which civil policy renders necessary, would, with regard to the innocent offspring of his parent's crimes, be odious, unjust, and cruel to the last degree." Nor, indeed, is the political disability, as applicable to East Indians, the sons of European fathers and native mothers, really grounded upon the fact of illegitimacy of birth; since there are instances of persons, the illegitimate sons of European parents on both sides, who have been unscrupulously admitted into the East India Company's service, both civil and military. The objection, then, is merely *skin-deep*, and destitute of all reason and justice; applying, as it does, exclusively to persons descended from Indian mothers; but shall such an objection, alike absurd and unjust, continue to operate as a libel upon the British administration in India, in this liberal and enlightened age?

ting for India; namely, the conservation of our empire\*, and the well-being of the great body of the people.

The EARL OF CARLISLE.—What difference is there between the children of half-castes and the half-castes themselves?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—As regards the privileges of Europeans, the children of half-castes are in the same situation as the half-castes themselves,—but not so as regards offices under the Company; for, as natives, they may be appointed to any military situation in the Company's service, to which natives are eligible†.

The Petition was then laid upon the table, and referred to the Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS, 4TH MAY, 1830.

Mr. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I regret, Sir, that the duty of presenting the Petition which I now hold in my hand, has devolved upon me, in consequence of the indisposition of my Noble Friend, the Member for Woodstock, (Lord Ashley.) I regret that it is not in the power of that Noble Lord to present the Petition, because I am sure that it would have made a greater impression upon the House, if it had come from his hands, instead of from mine; and that, not merely on account of his official character as one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, but also on account of the great diligence and attention which he has been in the habit of bestowing upon all subjects connected with that country. This Petition is very numerous, and I may also add very respectably, signed by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William, descended on the one side from European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and on the other, from natives of India, who may, therefore, be denominated Indo-Britons, though they are more generally known by the title of half-castes. The grievances, of which the Petitioners complain, are numerous; but may, I believe, be comprised under two heads. Whilst they live in Calcutta, within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, they are guided in their civil relations by the laws of England; but the moment they pass from that jurisdiction, they complain that they are placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindoo, or Mahomedan. They likewise complain that they are excluded from all superior offices in the civil and military services of the East India Company. To this subject I alluded last year, when I had the honour of presenting a Petition from the natives of

\* This has been already referred to.

† Not so. They are ineligible to the posts of Sebadars, Jemadars, Havildars, and Naicks in the native Army in India.

India, complaining that they were excluded from all offices of trust and emolument in the land of their fathers. For my own part, I cannot separate the cases of these two different classes of petitioners. This, however, I must say, that whatever arguments applied to the case of the natives of India, apply with infinitely stronger force to those unfortunate individuals who compose the subscribers to this Petition. They, at least, are of our blood, and of our religion; many of them have been educated in this country, and are possessed of capacity and acquirements of the first description. Though they profess themselves to be, and actually are, Christians, they are, when in the interior, amenable to the Mahomedan criminal law. They are thus deprived of all the advantages of trial by jury; and, when accused of offences, are liable to be fined and imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely by Europeans, but also by Mahomedan officers of justice. Questions may arise as to the validity of their marriages; and all such questions must be decided, not according to the principles of Christian, but according to those of Mahomedan law. How great the disadvantages are, which arise from this system, have been made apparent in the inquiries that have been recently instituted into this subject by the Committees of both Houses now sitting on the East India Company's Charter. It happens that a great many females, the daughters of European fathers, by native mothers, are married to European officers, high in the service of the Company, at Calcutta. I have been told that, among the officers who hold the highest situations on the staff in the Company's service at Calcutta, there is not at present one who is not married to a female of Indian descent. Supposing that an offence should be charged against any of these married couples, whilst residing in the interior, the husband would be sent to Calcutta, to be tried by Europeans, according to the principles of British law; but the wife might be tried and condemned before any Mahomedan magistrate. This is not merely a grievance in itself, but it gives rise to a feeling among the half-castes, that they stand in a different situation from their European relations, with whom they would otherwise mix upon terms of equality, and to whom they are, in point of fact, equal in this country.

There is nothing in the law or constitution of this country to prevent any half-caste from being elected a Member of Parliament, or from taking his seat in this House. They are frequently sent over to this country for education, and, in many instances, receive one equal to that received by any gentleman whom I am now addressing; and they are, consequently, equally competent to discharge the duties of any situation, however important. The grievance which the petitioners feel the most severely, is their exclusion by the East India Company from all employments in their service, civil and military. Within

these few years, this injustice, glaring as it originally was, has received considerable mitigation; for the exclusion has been confined to the sons of parents, either of whom were of unmixed Indian blood. Formerly, any one who had a tinge of colour in his skin, was certain to meet with obstruction after obstruction, in his road to preferment; indeed, it was impossible for him to advance at all. It came within my own knowledge that, on one occasion, the son of an English officer, by a lady whom he had married in England, was darker than suited the taste of our military critics; and there was, in consequence, a refusal to admit him, though regularly nominated, into the Company's services. I know that there are those who talk of the inherent unfitness of persons of Indian descent to fill offices of trust and importance in India. I should be ashamed to argue with those who uphold such doctrines. I should blush if I were compelled to go through the names of those who, in spite of these regulations, have worked out their way to greatness by the commanding force of their talents.

I last year adverted to a distinguished instance in the case of Colonel Skinner, who, though he was excluded, owing to his descent from a native mother, from serving in the East India Company's regular Army, raised a corps of 8,000 men, and distinguished himself in an eminent manner during the late wars. For his intrepid and disinterested conduct, although rejected by the Company's service, he earned for himself the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's service, and obtained the cross of a Commander of the Bath. I have seen evidence\* within the last two days, which proves Colonel Skinner's influence in India to be so great, as to enable him to raise 10,000 men at any time. That officer is a gallant man, and as loyally attached to his Sovereign as man can be; but is it wise, I would ask, to make such a man, with such influence, the object of proscription? If such policy is to be permanently adopted, individuals in his circumstances will soon be animated with feelings of hostility to our Indian Government. If the career of honor is shut against them, those talents which cannot be used in favor of the Government, will be used for its destruction. Others hold it to be politic, that these men should be systematically degraded,—and why? “Because, (say they,) the natives of India look upon these half-castes in a very different manner from that in which they look upon Europeans.” This mode of argument is really monstrous. The governors of India first place these individuals in a state of degradation, and then urge that degradation as a reason for continuing it.

Upon this subject, I will only refer to what has been so well stated by Sir Thomas Munro. That excellent officer, in a minute upon

\* See the evidence of R. D. Mangles, Esq. before the Lords' Committee, page 56.

this subject, dated 31st December, 1824, says, "With what grace can you talk of your paternal government of India, if you exclude the descendants of European fathers by native mothers from all offices; and if, over a population of 50,000,000, you enact that no one but an European shall order any punishment? Such an interdiction is a sentence of degradation on a whole people, from which no good can arise. How can we expect that the Hindoo population will be good subjects, unless we hold out to them inducements to become so? If superior acquirements cannot open the road to distinction, how can you expect individuals to take the trouble of acquiring them? When obtained, they can answer no other purpose, than that of showing their possessor the fallen condition of the caste to which he belongs. This is true of every nation, and of every country—it is true of our own. Let England be subjugated by a foreign force,—let the natives of it be excluded from all offices of trust and emolument,—and then all their knowledge, and all their literature, both foreign and domestic, will not save them from being, in a few generations, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race."

This is the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, and I think it applies most forcibly to the present subject. The whole of the minute, indeed, from which it is selected, appears to me well worthy the attention of the House; and, as it has not been published in the very valuable Life of Sir Thomas Munro, which has lately appeared, I shall, when this Petition is disposed of, move that it be laid before the House; and I only wish that every gentleman may take the trouble of reading it through, since I am convinced that every one must be no less delighted than benefited by the sentiments of enlightened humanity, and by the high-minded and liberal views which it contains.

Before I sit down, I cannot help observing that the effects of this system of exclusion are not merely confined to their legal operation, but are also productive of great moral and personal degradation. I found that to be the case during the period, in which I myself superintended the affairs of India. I discovered that, in a charitable institution, founded by Lord Clive, for the benefit of the widows and children of his companions in arms, and without any intention on the part of that great man of establishing any system of an exclusive nature, it had since been directed that, before any widow could receive the benefit of it, an affidavit must be made that she was not of native blood. This restriction I was enabled to abolish; but by the regulations of the military fund, established both at Madras and Bombay, the one in the year 1808, the other in the year 1816, it is still provided that it shall be an indispensable qualification to any child who seeks relief from it, that both the parent and the child should be European, and of unmixed blood; and it is likewise added, that four removes from

African or Asiatic blood should be considered as restoring the blood to purity. I thought then, and I am still of the same opinion, that a state of society in which such regulations were publicly avowed and acted upon, was one which required revision and reformation. I trust, therefore, that, whatever may be the issue of the inquiry now proceeding up-stairs, the House will take into its consideration the situation both of these petitioners, and of the natives, and will admit them to every office which their education and acquirements render them qualified to discharge. I may, perhaps, be asked, "Would you wish the whole government of India to find its way into the hands of Asiatics?" To that question, I would merely answer, that it is my belief that such a permission as that which I now seek to obtain, as matter of right for the half-castes, would never be too extensively granted to them in practice. No matter in what hands the patronage of India may be hereafter vested, whether it be in those of the East India Company, or of the British Government, we may be sure that, under any European administration, sufficient favor will be shewn to Europeans, and that nothing but decided merit will place an Asiatic on the same level with them. It is unwise to let men in the situation of these petitioners feel that the career of honor is shut against them; and, in a House of Commons which has removed the exclusion which for so many years operated upon a large class of its Catholic fellow-subjects—an exclusion which was only justified on political grounds, even by those who advocated its continuance—in a House of Commons which has also taken the first step to emancipate the Jews from the state of degradation to which they have been so long consigned by the law of this country—in such a House of Commons, I say, I do not expect to find any opposition made to so reasonable a prayer as this, that men should not be shut out from all offices of trust in the country of their birth, simply because they derived their origin from its original inhabitants. I beg leave to move, Sir, that this Petition be brought up.

The Petition was then brought up; and on the question that the Petition be now read,

Mr. STEWART WORTLEY said,—As the whole subject of the Government of India is now undergoing the consideration of a Committee above stairs, I am sensible that the present would be an unfit opportunity to enter into a discussion upon the situation of that class of persons from whom this Petition has been presented by my Honorable Friend. Yet, after what has passed, I should not feel myself justified, if I suffered the Petition to be brought up without offering a few observations to the attention of the House. The principal object that I have in view, in rising at this time to address the House, is to assure the Right Honorable Gentleman, the House, and the peti-

tioners themselves, that the half-castes are not looked upon with any of that contemptuous feeling which they are disposed to attribute to the Government of India. I believe it to be the disposition of the local Government, and I am sure it is the disposition of the Government at Home, to give every consideration to the state and condition of the people of India. They are very far, indeed, from being insensible to their condition, and are always ready to consider in what way relief can be afforded to them, consistently with the principles that must regulate the government of a country so situated. Amongst the grievances stated in the Petition, there appear some, to which a remedy may be applied—namely, those relating to marriages and successions. These are points affecting the relations of social life, and remedies might, I think, be easily discovered; but though I admit this, yet, when I am called upon to go beyond these grievances, and into the consideration of others, I then am certainly unable to decide whether these can be remedied, and for this reason, that they involve very great and important considerations respecting political government\*. I beg also to say that I am obliged to consider, that it would be highly inconvenient to enter into such an explanation as the subject necessarily requires, on the question of the bringing up or reading of a Petition; for, Sir, the question is one of a most extensive nature, and must, of necessity, be brought under the consideration of the body now delegated by the House to inquire into the subject of India. This I conceive to be the most proper course to be pursued on this subject; and I must also say I am sure that whoever will carefully, and in detail, inquire into it, will see how exceedingly difficult it will be at once to find a remedy for what is complained of. I shall also take leave to add, as the Right Honorable Gentleman has taken this opportunity of adverting to the evidence given before the Committee, that although what he has mentioned is quite to the purpose, and well illustrates his views, yet there is one point on which the evidence has not reached the bottom. In the course of that evidence, the number of persons situated like the petitioners in the provinces of Bengal was inquired into. One of the complaints made is, that they are excluded from all government and other situations; and let us consider the answer, which does not prove their condition to be so very bad, though I will not assert that a very extensive field lies open to their ambition. The fact is, that the witness, whose Petition I believe this to be, was examined before the Committee. On being asked what is the number of this class of persons in Bengal and its dependencies, he says he be-

\* This is the old bugbear again; or, in other words, a pretence to do wrong under a colour of danger in the very attempt to do right.

lieves about 2,000\*. He is then asked what proportion of these is fit for the holding of offices, and he says 1,500. Then the question is put to him, what number of them are actually employed? and his answer is, that there are two-thirds of that number, or about 1,000 persons in actual employment. I do not mean to say that this is an answer to the Petition; but it is at least a palliation of the case; and it is, at all events, a clear proof that there is not such a number of them destitute of employment as it is wished that we should believe. Unless I were to enter fully upon the whole subject of the law, and of the distinctions which have resulted from peculiar circumstances, I could not with propriety now go farther; and, in conclusion, I will beg to repeat what I said at the commencement—that I should be one of the last persons who would throw any obstacle in the way of allowing these petitioners to forward their interests—that it is by no means from any prejudice against either caste or colour that the Government excludes these individuals from the higher offices; but that the question involves other points of the greatest magnitude, and that it remains for the Parliament alone to consider and decide on the course that ought to be pursued.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.—Sir, I confess I have been anxious to deliver my sentiments on this subject, and the causes of that anxiety are, I trust, of such a nature as may excuse it. I have had an opportunity of observing the persons and characters of the men whose Petition is now before us, and I have made them the subject of as much inquiry and reflection as I was capable of. I need not say that I will not condescend to urge any thing against the pretended inferiority of national character, or against the notion of there being one class created to rule, and another merely to obey. I have ever accounted such doctrines as the common phrases of the advocates of oppression; and sure I am that there is no reason, and not a shadow of foundation for them in any part of the character of the natives of India. I shall not follow my Right Honorable Friend in giving the example of a single person of high attainments, which might not be admitted as an argument, from the singularity of the circumstance; but I will say, that I made minute inquiry in places of education, in counting-houses, and

\* In the evidence here referred to, the number is estimated at 20,000; not at 2,000, as stated by Mr. Wortley. Of this number 1,000 or more are supposed to be employed in public and private offices, and about 500 are deemed to be qualified for offices of trust and responsibility; but, instead of their being so employed, they are just tantalized with a sight of these offices, to decipher the harsh and unjust prohibition inscribed upon them,—“Touch not, taste not, handle not;” while they are permitted to hold inferior situations, the highest salaries of which fall below the level of what is enjoyed by every beardless youth in the Civil service at the very threshold of his public career.



in the offices of Government,—where, it is true, some of these unfortunate beings are admitted to inferior offices, and in which they have just liberty enough to enable them to get a sight of what would be the object of their ambition, and are tantalized with the view of what it is impossible for them to attain. My main reason for rising has been the impulse of my conscience, and that obliges me to declare that there is no class of individuals not in actual slavery, throughout the dominions of the Crown of these realms, that is used with so much needless harshness and oppression as this race.

I do not agree with the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control, that this is not a proper opportunity to enter upon this subject, because the whole must come before the Committee now examining into the state of India. I am quite sure, and on this I think even he will agree with me, that this Committee cannot go into all the branches of so vast an inquiry as the government of one hundred millions of men; and I am equally convinced that, unless we take frequent opportunities of preliminary discussion in this House, we shall never be ripe for the proper consideration of this great and extensive subject. I confess I feel surprised at the idea implied in what the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control has said, namely, that the petitioners have brought forward overcharged statements; and I am sure that if he will reflect and consider for a moment on the grievances they have laboured under, the patience with which they have endured them, and the profound silence observed for many years by the petitioners, and then compare those with the negligence and the progressive insults of the Government, he will entertain no feeling but one of surprise at the forbearance they have manifested. The stigma, however, remains as deep as ever—the brand still burns—they are disgraced and degraded, because they are deprived of all those honors that ought to be the reward of their exertions; and it is of this disgrace and degradation, brought upon them needlessly and unwisely, that they now complain. The Honorable Secretary also left out of consideration one or two of the chief exclusions they suffer from. He talked of their marriages, and of rules respecting them. I confess I do not know by what regulations marriages are governed in the provinces,—it certainly cannot be the law of England;—but this at least appears, that these unfortunate people are in what may be, without any exaggeration, designated a state of outlawry. Although the regulation only extends to exclude them from the higher offices of the Company, yet the fact is, that, under pretence of this, they are also excluded from all the lower offices—even those which may be held by natives. If, because Mahomedans may fill many offices, which they actually do, in the collection of the revenue, and in the courts of the provinces, and from which the petitioners are in point of fact excluded, then it may be, and it is said, that

there is no law to this effect. I know that is true : I know there is no such law ; but, since the fact is so, they are still in a state of outlawry, and the disgrace and the stigma still remain : for no sooner are they excluded by regulation from the higher offices, than by practice they are shut out from the others. Nothing is more deplorable than the way in which we see tyrannical laws followed up by still more tyrannical practices.

I am surprised that gentlemen have not taken into consideration this question, whether the exclusion from offices of a particular class of natives, on account of their professing the doctrines of Christianity, is not an argument against the line of policy we pursue. It is nothing to say that this results from usage, and not from law : this usage is only the tyrannical child of a tyrannical parent. I say, that when we take into consideration the events of the last forty years, and that the class whose grievances are now the subject of complaint, have become as respectable a body as any in India, this result will be made clear, that as soon as it is declared that any one class is inferior to the others—no matter what the character of the community may be, when this declaration is made—from that moment the class thus branded will be visited by evils of a deeper die. No man who knows me will doubt the high esteem and the warm regard I entertain for all those with whom I had the happiness to be acquainted in India. I say, I believe that there is greater generosity, and a higher point of honor to be found amongst the British population in India, than in most other parts of the world ; but if I am called upon to point out the most odious light in which the exclusions that are sanctioned there, are to be regarded—I almost hesitate to state it, but still I will avow that these exclusions of the half-castes do assume the odious appearance of exclusions made by fathers against their children. I do not believe that those who made these regulations ever could have contemplated their subsequent effects ; and I am sure that many of those who, from motives of state policy, are induced thus to act, put their hands to what they would have recoiled from with horror in a private station. But I am still sure that, if the signatures to these regulations prove that they are the disfranchisement of children by their parents, and such as the parties would be incapable of, if they had considered for a moment, these regulations are such as ought not to be allowed to continue.

I shall not longer delay the House ; but I have this day read an account of a meeting held at Calcutta, on the 15th of December, and I read speeches delivered in the English language by two Hindoos of rank and learning, and containing sentiments which would do honor to the members of any assembly. One of them, Rammohun Roy, has embraced your religion, notwithstanding the degradations you impose

upon those who profess Christianity. He says, he is convinced that the more the natives of India come in contact and association with English gentlemen, the more will they improve in every light, whether political, commercial, or moral. I cannot but agree with him in this view ; and, thinking that the abolition of distinctions is the best course to be pursued, I most heartily concur in the prayer of this Petition.

Mr. R. C. FERGUSON.—I cannot help offering my opinion to the House upon this very important subject. Shortly after I had the honor of a seat in this House, I did state my opinion upon it, and called the attention of the Right Honorable Gentleman then at the head of the Board of Control to its consideration, and his answer was similar to his statement of this day,—that the question was one which required the deepest and most serious deliberation. I never was the advocate of exclusion ; and I said then, and I say now, that it will be the policy of the Government of England to draw more upon the talents and the acquirements of the natives of India, than they now do. I say, also, that some of the statements in this Petition are of a very questionable description ; but I, at the same time, admit that the petitioners are placed in a very painful situation. In the first place, it is difficult to say what law they are under. They are not Mahomedans,—but it is a subject of consideration whether it be policy that Mahomedans should have the benefit of laws which they have not, or whether they should be excluded from the law which applies to other Christians. They are, at present, subject to the laws which are administered by natives ; and although no injury may, in fact, accrue, yet it is hard to subject them to the verdict of a Mahomedan or a Hindoo tribunal. The interest I have taken in them, they have long known. I felt it long before I had the honor of a seat in this House. If this class wish for all the advantages and privileges of British subjects, I think they ought to have them ; but, at the same time, I do not know that much real advantage would result to them, for then they would be subject to all the regulations and all the restrictions that British residents are now governed by. If they wish to be considered as natives, and as British subjects too, then they will have greater privileges than British subjects enjoy ; and, if the matter be left to their own choice, I think they will pause a long while before they will choose to be considered merely as British subjects.

When, however, we enter upon the consideration of this subject, we ought not, in my opinion, to confine ourselves to the case merely of the half-caste Christians, as distinguished from that of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans ; nor ought we to make any difference in their favor, notwithstanding their being partly of European blood. The petitioners are not, as they would wish to have it believed, excluded from all offices. They certainly are not in a situation to fill

the highest offices ; but there are vast numbers of places of emolument filled by this class. I say this to their credit ; for they owe it to their intelligence and their industry, and in these qualities they are not excelled by any other class of men. They are not, however, practically oppressed. If, as is true, they are excluded from the higher employments, they do not suffer more than other classes, and there is no greater injury inflicted by the exclusion of a Christian, than of a Hindoo. My Right Honorable and Learned Friend has spoken of the case of Rammohun Roy ; and of him I can also speak, from acquaintance, as one, than whom there is no man of more intelligence. I wish I could say with my Right Honorable Friend that he is a Christian, but I do not believe he is. He has certainly shaken off his prejudices, and believes that there is but one God, and not a thousand, as some persons believe to be the faith of other Hindoos ; but he is so far advanced, that his faith would not disable him from the enjoyment of any office that his talents would entitle him to. I think we ought to examine how far the talents of all the natives may be used for the benefit of our Government ; but this, in fact, may be considered as in progress ; for now, in point of fact, more and more confidence is daily placed in them, both as respects their admission to offices, and to the administration of justice. The present question, then, I am of opinion, ought to be considered with reference to every class of natives, at the same time that I desire to be known as one friendly to the petitioners ; and I shall be their friend, and be always ready to render them every service in my power. In conclusion, I will observe that not only is this a subject for serious consideration, but that it is a state of things, the remedy for which cannot be afforded at once, but must be given by degrees.

Mr. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE.—After the discussion that has taken place, I will not detain the House ; but I should not discharge my duty, if I did not offer one or two observations. I congratulate, then, both the House and the natives of India on this discussion—the House, because we perform a sacred duty in showing that we extend our care and our protection over every portion of the dominions under the British Crown ; and not only that, but that we are ever ready to do our duty. I congratulate the natives of India, and especially the class to which the petitioners belong, on the effect of this Petition, because I am sure that it is only necessary for their interests to have the subject publicly discussed, in order to their progress and advancement. I feel also that we should not confine ourselves, in our consideration of this subject, merely to the half-caste ; but I cannot concur with the Honorable Gentleman in thinking that the exclusion of that particular class is not an injustice. It is a subject that must occupy the attention of the Committee, and I think it quite as important as the question

whether Englishmen shall be restrained from holding land ; and my opinion is, that natives ought to be allowed to fill every situation accessible to other subjects, except, perhaps, some very few, in which their admission might be accompanied with the idea of danger or insecurity.

**SIR CHARLES FORBES.**—Sir, I rise to support this Petition, and to give my testimony in favor of all that has been said of the high character of the natives of India. I shall not go further into the subject at present, but will conclude by saying that, after an experience of twenty-two years in India, and seventeen years here, the more I see of my own countrymen, the more I like the natives of India.

**MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.**—I shall make but one or two observations. In the first place, with respect to the situations of emolument held by this class, the highest office possessed by any of them does not yield more than £600 or £700 a-year. They are excluded from all military offices, and from civil stations under the Government. I can see no reason why this exclusion should always be enforced in the instructions sent out by the Court of Directors, in which, when an appointment is bestowed, it is always accompanied with these words—"provided he be not the son of a native of India." Now, there is no reason why this should be continued, or why a person should be excluded from all commissions in the Army, as well as all civil employments, because he may happen to be the son of a native mother. Neither can I see why native Christians should be on a worse footing than any other class, and excluded expressly by the regulations of the Madras Government from the offices of District Moonsifs, which are open to other natives, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans\*.

**MR. STUART WORTLEY.**—As to the statement of the Right Honorable Gentleman, I confess I was not aware of the continuance of the exceptions in instructions sent out ; nor did I imagine that there was the distinction he alluded to in his last observation.

**MR. JOHN STEWART.**—I rise to bear testimony to the respectability of the class to which the petitioners belong ; and my wish is, that all the disabilities of which they complain should be removed. I do not agree with the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control that the present is an unfit opportunity for the discussion of this subject ; on the contrary, I concur with the Right Honorable and Learned Gentleman opposite, that the oftener we discuss the affairs of India, the better prepared we shall be to legislate for the natives of that country. I fully agree in the account given of the grievances suffered by the petitioners, one consequence of which is, in a great measure, that they are excluded from mixing in European society ; and the native Indians

\* See Bishop Heber's Correspondence, and Madras Regulations, 1816

are thence induced to look upon them with a degree of distrust and contempt. These are the very painful effects that result from these regulations ; and I have thought it right to state them, in the hope that Government may take the subject into their serious consideration.

The Petition was then read, and laid upon the table.

Mr. WILLIAMS WYNN.—In moving that this Petition be printed, I merely wish to accompany the motion with a desire that it should be referred to the East India Committee.

Mr. STUART WORTLEY.—As my observations have been commented on by the Right Honorable Member for Knaresborough, as well as by the Honorable Member for Beverley, I beg to observe that I neither had, nor have any objection to discussion upon this subject ; and that the only reason why I did not think it convenient to enter upon it was, that at this moment another branch of the subject was under consideration. I do confess I am still of opinion that such a course is inconvenient on the presentation of a Petition, because, were we to go fully into the question, it would necessarily occupy the attention of the House for a long period. I beg, at the same time, to say that, so far from wishing to decri discussion, I am sure that it will be productive of the best effect ; and that I shall, on every proper occasion, forward it as much as lies in my power.

The Petition was then ordered to be printed.

Mr. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I beg now to move for the copy of a Minute by the late Sir Thomas Munro, on the state of the country and condition of the people under the Presidency of Fort St. George, dated 31st December, 1824.

Ordered.

D.

*Madras, 12th March, 1831.*

To H. PALMER, Esq.

*Secretary to the East Indian Petition Committee, Calcutta.*

SIR,

I perform a pleasing duty in communicating to you, for the information of the East Indian Petition Committee at Calcutta, the very gratifying reception, which your Agent, Mr. J. W. Ricketts, received from the East Indian community at Madras, during his recent visit to this Presidency.

Although we were not immediately concerned in those measures which led to Mr. Ricketts's mission to England, yet, being sensible of the important consequences that must result to our community generally, from that step, we participated in those lively feelings of interest, which were cherished during the progress of your Petition to Parliament; and we have now great pleasure in tendering to you our cordial sentiments of congratulation, for the measure of success that has crowned the labors of your Committee.

On the first intimation being received, of the probability of Mr. Ricketts touching at this port, it was immediately resolved that some token of public approbation should be afforded to that gentleman, for his disinterested exertions; but the particular mode in which that expression should be conveyed, was not determined upon at the time.

The unforeseen delay in the arrival of the *Tam O'Shanter*, and the sudden appearance of Mr. Ricketts in another vessel, took us at a very considerable disadvantage, as we had to make immediate preparations for our public demonstration of regard to him. With a feeling of unanimity and co-operation, which was highly creditable to this community, our countrymen came forward, and enabled us to carry into effect the resolution of inviting Mr. Ricketts to a *Public Dinner*, as the most appropriate mode of giving expression to our feelings on the occasion.

This Public Dinner accordingly took place on the 3d instant, under the usual formalities, and at which I had the honor to preside. As I must fail in attempting to convey to you an adequate description of this national banquet, I shall content myself by referring you to the enclosed printed account, taken from our Government Gazette, which accurately, but briefly, details the proceedings of the evening.

It has afforded the East Indian community at Madras, very great satisfaction in having had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Mr. Ricketts; an event which, I trust, will lead to an intimate interchange of communication between our friends in Bengal and ourselves.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that we shall feel highly honored by receiving from your Committee, periodical information connected with the progress of your measures, in regard to the Petition now pending before the British Parliament, as well as any other communication bearing upon our common good.

I remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,  
P. CARSTAIRS.

P. S. Mr. Ricketts sailed from Madras, in the *Linnaeus*, on the morning of the 8th instant, and has, I hope ere this, arrived at Calcutta. I shall feel obliged by your causing the delivery of the enclosed letter to his address.

P. C.

The noble and patriotic conduct of the East Indian community at Madras, in the late National Dinner given to their distinguished countryman, Mr. J. W. RICKETTS, on the 3d instant, deserves a place among the imperishable records of time, as an illustration of their gratitude for praiseworthy exertions on their behalf, and their feelings on the event.

About 100 persons sat down to a sumptuous dinner, laid out for the occasion, to which all the elegancies of the season contributed; and neither expense, nor trouble was spared to provide the banquet on the most efficient scale.

On Mr. RICKETTS being ushered into the room, and introduced to the company, the band struck up a beautiful piece of music, composed for the occasion, and continued to play lively airs whilst the party remained at dinner.

To attempt to repeat all the "sayings and doings" on the occasion, would be impossible—suffice it only to add, that the honor of the Chair was nobly sustained, and that the speeches that were delivered by the President, Vice-President, and other gentlemen, were alike distinguished for their appropriateness, and the national feeling they displayed.

On the cloth being removed, the following toasts were proposed in succession from the Chair, viz.

THE KING—*Tune, God save the King.*

THE QUEEN—*Tune, The Queen of Prussia's Waltz.*

The Duke of WELLINGTON and the rest of H. M.'s Ministers—*Tune, British Grenadiers.*

The Right Honorable C. W. WYNN and the other Members of the British Parliament friendly to the East Indian Petition—*Tune, Auld lang Syne.*

The Honorable the Court of Directors—*Tune, Money in both Pockets.*

Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK, Governor-General, and the Supreme Government of India—*Tune, Bentinck's March.*

The Right Honorable S. R. LUSHINGTON and the Madras Government—*Tune, The last Rose of Summer, (Mr. L.'s favorite.)*

The Honorable J. ROMER, Esq. and the Bombay Government—*Tune, Ye Banks and Braes.*



Mr. J. W. RICKETTS—*Tune, Ricketts's March.*

Sir JOHN MALCOLM, the friend of East Indians—*Tune, Napoleon's March.*

Continued and abundant prosperity to the MADRAS PHILANTHROPIC ASSOCIATION—*Tune, Should those fond hopes.*

Success to the East Indian cause—*Tune, Jenny dang the Weaver.*

Union in sentiment, co-operation in effort, and interchange of communication amongst our countrymen in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras—*Tune, Hush every Breeze.*

On Mr. RICKETTS's health being drank, which was prefaced by an eloquent speech, that gentleman rose, and returned thanks in that chastened manner and feeling, for which he is peculiarly distinguished; and the continued plaudits that interrupted his address, evinced the deep tone of regard with which his countrymen received and honored his exertions. Mr. RICKETTS concluded by proposing a toast—Health, happiness, and prosperity to the East Indian community at Madras. *Tune,—Home, Sweet Home.*

After drinking the President's health in a bumper, Mr. RICKETTS rose, and retired, accompanied by the greater part of the company; whilst a few genial spirits, considering it too early in the morning (one o'clock) to separate, sat down to pour out libations from "one bottle more."

No commendation can adequately express the exertions of the Stewards in arranging and meeting the general convenience of the company. The decorations of the spacious hall were in accordance with the events of the night; and we hope that that spirit of unanimity and co-operation, which characterized this national banquet, will long be cherished by that community who originated this measure.

Mr. RICKETTS was subsequently entertained at a Ball and Supper, when he was introduced to his country-women at Madras, the festivities of which were closed in perfect unison with the previous good feeling and satisfaction\*.

*From the Madras Government Gazette of the 10th March, 1831.*

\* The Committee deem it proper here to state, that a public dinner was given to Mr. Ricketts, at the Town Hall, in Calcutta, on the 11th of April; on which occasion, about 200 persons sat down to table, and the silver vase was presented to him, as voted at the public Meeting held on the 28th of March. Loyal and patriotic toasts were also drank, preceded by warm and eloquent speeches, and followed by appropriate tunes, played by a band engaged for that purpose. Subjoined is a list of the toasts:—

1. The King—*Tune, God save the King.*
2. The Queen—*Tune, The Queen's March.*
3. Earl Grey and the New Ministry—*Tune, Britons, strike home.*
4. Right Honorable C. W. Williams Wynn and all our Parliamentary friends—*Tune, My ain kind Deary O!*

- 5 The Court of Directors; and may the happiness of the subjects under their sway be the end and aim of their government!—*Tune, There's nae luck about the house.*
  - 6 Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General; and may he prove a friend to the East Indians!—*Tune, The Soldier's Joy.*
  - 7 Honorable Sir Charles Metcalfe, Vice-President—*Tune, The great Politician.*
  - 8 Right Honorable Mr. Lushington, Governor of Madras—*Tune, Here's a health to those far away.*
  - 9 Honorable Sir John Malcolm, late Governor of Bombay—*Tune, The British Grenadiers.*
  - 10 Mr. J. W. Ricketts—*Tune, The worthy Patriot.*
  - 11 Rev Mr. Adam; for his able advocacy of our rights through the periodical Press—*Tune, Friendship.*
  - 12 The East Indians of Madras and Bombay—*Tune, Auld lang Syne.*
  - 13 Happiness and prosperity to the Natives of India—*Tune, Peace and plenty.*
  - 14 Civil and religious liberty all over the world—*Tune, Triumph.*
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| Dr.   |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | E.                                  |       |
|-------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
|       |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>Cash in Account-Current with</i> |       |
|       |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | R.                                  | A. P. |
| 1829. |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                     |       |
| July  | 18. | To balance this day in the Bank of Hindostan, as per last account published in the former Report,                                                                                                                                   | 8,906                               | 4 0   |
| 1830. |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                     |       |
| April | 13. | To the amount of subscriptions realized from the 22d of July, 1829, up to this date*, .. ..                                                                                                                                         | 4,000                               | 3 9   |
|       | 30. | To interest to this day, at 4 per cent. .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                       | 227                                 | 2 4   |
| Dec.  | 24. | To the amount of Messrs. Alexander and Co.'s draft on their house in London, in favor of Mr. J. W. Ricketts, for £250; the draft having been received back, in consequence of Mr. R. having left England on his return to Calcutta, | 2,608                               | 11 2  |
|       | „   | To interest on the amount of the draft, from the 25th February, 1830, up to this date, being 9 months and 29 days, at 8 per cent. .. ..                                                                                             | 173                                 | 5 4   |
| 1831. |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                     |       |
| April | 13. | To the amount of subscriptions realized up to this date, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                      | 970                                 | 12 0  |
|       | 30. | To interest to this day, at 4 per cent. .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                       | 204                                 | 7 8   |

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Carried over, Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

\* In this is not included the amount of a draft for £20 on Messrs. Fletcher, Alexander, and Co., as a donation to the Petion fund, from J. Young, Esq.

*the Bank of Hindostan.*

Cr.

| 1829.                       |                                                                                                                                                            | R.    | A. | P. |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| July                        | 20. By the amount of a set of bills on Messrs. Fletcher, Alexander, and Co. in London, at 6 months' sight, payable to our Agent in England, £500*, .. .. . | 5,221 | 14 | 3  |
|                             | 24. By cash paid for 4 pieces of wax cloth, 4 bundles of country paper, and 1 seer of sealing wax, .. .. .                                                 | 2     | 14 | 0  |
|                             | 28. By cash paid to Mr. D. Clarke, for distributing 500 copies of the Committee's Report by the Anna Post, .. .. .                                         | 16    | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 31. By cash paid for the postage of letters in July, .. .. .                                                                                               | 31    | 6  | 0  |
| Aug.                        | 5. By cash paid for a blank book, and two quires of country paper, .. .. .                                                                                 | 4     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | .. By cash paid on account of a Peon's wages for July, .. .. .                                                                                             | 5     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | .. By cash paid on account of the wages of two Bill Sircars for July, including the price of two Chhattahs, .. .. .                                        | 12    | 8  | 0  |
|                             | 7. By cash paid to Mr. L. Fernandes, on account of his salary for July, .. .. .                                                                            | 16    | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 31. By cash paid for two tin boxes, with locks and keys, for keeping papers, .. .. .                                                                       | 3     | 10 | 0  |
|                             | .. By cash paid for the postage of letters, in August, .. .. .                                                                                             | 5     | 13 | 0  |
| Sep.                        | 2. By cash paid on account of the wages of two Bill Sircars for August, .. .. .                                                                            | 12    | 0  | 0  |
|                             | .. By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for August, .. .. .                                                                                      | 5     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 8. By cash paid to Mr. L. Fernandes, on account of his salary for August, .. .. .                                                                          | 16    | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 16. By cash paid to Mr. L. Fernandes, on account of his salary from the 1st to the 10th of September, .. .. .                                              | 5     | 5  | 4  |
|                             | 19. By cash paid for wax cloth, .. .. .                                                                                                                    | 1     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 30. By cash paid for the postage of letters in September, .. .. .                                                                                          | 1     | 8  | 0  |
| Oct.                        | 1. By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sircar for September, .. .. .                                                                            | 6     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 2. By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for September, .. .. .                                                                                   | 5     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 30. By cash paid for the postage of letters in October, .. .. .                                                                                            | 16    | 7  | 0  |
| Nov.                        | 3. By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for October, .. .. .                                                                                     | 5     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 4. By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sircar for October, .. .. .                                                                              | 6     | 0  | 0  |
|                             | 10. By cash paid to Mr. J. H. Madge, for engrossing 200 blank receipts, and 100 circulars, .. .. .                                                         | 12    | 0  | 0  |
|                             | *30. By cash paid for the postage of letters in November, .. .. .                                                                                          | 3     | 12 | 0  |
| Carried over, Sa. Rs. 5,414 |                                                                                                                                                            | 1     | 7  |    |

\* Of this sum, a part was taken in 100 Spanish Dollars, and the rest in bills.

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Brought over, Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

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Carried over, Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

|       |     |                                                                                                                                                                  |       |    |   |
|-------|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|---|
|       |     | Brought over, Sa. Rs.                                                                                                                                            | 5,414 | 1  | 7 |
| Dec.  | 3.  | By cash paid to Mr. G. Wodsworth, for preparing fair drafts of the East Indians' Petition to Parliament, and engrossing the same on 30 skins of parchment, .. .. | 703   | 0  | 0 |
|       | 4.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for November, .. ..                                                                                               | 5     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 5.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car, for 28 days of November, .. ..                                                                           | 5     | 9  | 6 |
| 1830. |     |                                                                                                                                                                  |       |    |   |
| Jan.  | 8.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for December, .. ..                                                                                       | 6     | 0  | 0 |
|       | „   | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for December, .. ..                                                                                               | 5     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 26. | By cash paid to Mr. A. Sue for transcribing certain documents in the correspondence book, .. ..                                                                  | 16    | 0  | 0 |
|       | 31. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in January, .. ..                                                                                                        | 0     | 6  | 0 |
| Feb.  | 4.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for January, .. ..                                                                                                | 5     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 6.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for January, .. ..                                                                                        | 6     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 8.  | By cash paid to Messrs. Mackenzie, Lyall, and Co. for Advertisements in the Calcutta Exchange Gazette, .. ..                                                     | 11    | 6  | 0 |
|       | 25. | By cash paid to Messrs. Alexander and Co. for a draft on their house in London, at 6 months' sight, payable to our Agent in England, for £250, .. ..             | 2,608 | 11 | 2 |
|       | 28. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in February, .. ..                                                                                                       | 0     | 3  | 0 |
| March | 5.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for February, .. ..                                                                                               | 5     | 0  | 0 |
|       | „   | By cash paid for a bottle of ink, .. ..                                                                                                                          | 0     | 6  | 0 |
|       | 6.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for February, .. ..                                                                                       | 6     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 31. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in March, .. ..                                                                                                          | 0     | 8  | 0 |
| April | 3.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for March, .. ..                                                                                          | 6     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 6.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for March, .. ..                                                                                                  | 5     | 0  | 0 |
| May   | 8.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for April, .. ..                                                                                                  | 5     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 10. | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for April, .. ..                                                                                          | 6     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 12. | By cash paid to Mr. W. H. Pearce, for printing and stitching 100 copies of subscription books, .. ..                                                             | 32    | 0  | 0 |
|       | 31. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in May, .. ..                                                                                                            | 0     | 7  | 0 |
| June  | 1.  | By cash paid for repairing a lock, .. ..                                                                                                                         | 0     | 2  | 0 |
|       | 7.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for May, including the price of a Chattah, .. ..                                                          | 6     | 4  | 6 |
|       | 9.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for May, including the price of a Chattah, .. ..                                                                  | 5     | 4  | 0 |
| July  | 7.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for June, .. ..                                                                                           | 6     | 0  | 0 |
|       | „   | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for June, .. ..                                                                                                   | 5     | 0  | 0 |
|       | 31. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in July, .. ..                                                                                                           | 1     | 6  | 6 |
| Aug.  | 5.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for July, .. ..                                                                                           | 6     | 0  | 0 |

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Carried over, Sa. Rs. 8,882 10 9

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Brought over, Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

Carried over, Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

|               |     | Brought over, Sa. Rs.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 8,882  | 10 | 9 |
|---------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----|---|
| Aug.          | 5.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for July, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                         | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 31. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in August, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                               | 0      | 10 | 0 |
| Sep.          | 4.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for August, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                       | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 7.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for August, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                               | 6      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 22. | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for September, and in advance for October, in consequence of the Hindoo holidays, .. ..                                                                                                         | 12     | 0  | 0 |
|               | 30. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in September, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0      | 7  | 0 |
| Oct.          | 6.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for September, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                    | 5      | 0  | 0 |
| Nov.          | 6.  | By cash paid to Mr. J. H. Madge, for 200 Litho-graphic circulars, and 900 blank receipts, .. ..                                                                                                                                                        | 37     | 8  | 0 |
|               | "   | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for October, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                      | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | "   | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car, in advance for November, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                 | 6      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 20. | By cash paid to three extra Peons employed in dis-tributing copies of the Parliamentary Debates received from England, .. ..                                                                                                                           | 2      | 3  | 0 |
|               | 30. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in Novem-ber, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0      | 5  | 0 |
| Dec.          | 4.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for November, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                     | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 31. | By cash paid for the postage of letters in Decem-ber, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                            | 1      | 8  | 0 |
| 1831.<br>Jan. | 3.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for December, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                             | 6      | 0  | 0 |
|               | "   | By cash paid for 4 quires of China paper, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 14. | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for December, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                     | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 31. | By paid the amount of a draft drawn by our Agent in England, on Messrs. Alexander and Co. pre-vious to his departure for Calcutta, £51,2s.7d. .. ..                                                                                                    | 629    | 4  | 0 |
|               | "   | By cash paid for the postage of letters in January, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                              | 0      | 15 | 0 |
| Feb.          | 5.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for January, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                      | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 7.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for January, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                              | 6      | 0  | 0 |
| March         | 2.  | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sir-car for February, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                             | 6      | 0  | 0 |
|               | "   | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for February, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                     | 5      | 0  | 0 |
|               | 11. | By cash paid to Mr. G. E. Hudson, for sundry law expenses, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                       | 150    | 0  | 0 |
|               | 17. | By cash paid for Palankeen hire, .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1      | 4  | 0 |
|               | 22. | By paid the amount of a draft drawn by Mr. J. W. Ricketts in favor of Captain J. S. Lindsay, of the ship I am O'Shanter, on account of his per-sonal expenses during his detention at Rio Janeiro, Milreas 650, including exchange and interest, .. .. | 844    | 11 | 0 |
|               |     | Carried over, Sa. Rs.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 10,634 | 5  | 9 |



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Brought over, Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

Sa. Rs. 17,090 14 3

CALCUTTA, }  
30th April, 1831. }

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                          |                       |                       |           |          |   |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|----------|---|
|           |                                                                                                                                                                                          | Brought over, Sa. Rs. | 10,634                | 5         | 9        |   |
| March 24. | By paid the amount of a draft drawn by Mr. J. W. Ricketts in favor of Captain B. Winder, of the ship <i>Linnaeus</i> , on account of passage-money, and his personal expenses at Madras, | ..                    | 1,608                 | 7         | 0        |   |
| April 5.  | By cash paid for the postage of letters in March,                                                                                                                                        | ..                    | 6                     | 9         | 0        |   |
|           | By cash paid for boat hire for the Peon and Bill Sircar,                                                                                                                                 | ..                    |                       | 0         | 6        | 0 |
|           | By the amount of a draft given to Mr. J. W. Ricketts, being the balance of his allowance as our Agent in England, until his return to Calcutta,                                          | ..                    | 1,500                 | 0         | 0        |   |
| 7.        | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Bill Sircar for March,                                                                                                                         | ..                    | 6                     | 0         | 0        |   |
|           | By cash paid on account of the wages of a Peon for March,                                                                                                                                | ..                    | 5                     | 0         | 0        |   |
| 20.       | By cash paid for a tin box, with lock and key, for keeping papers,                                                                                                                       | ..                    | 2                     | 8         | 0        |   |
| 27.       | By cash paid to Messrs. Hamilton and Co. for a silver vase voted and presented to Mr. J. W. Ricketts, including a mahogany case for the same*,                                           | ..                    | 1,232                 | 0         | 0        |   |
| 30.       | By cash paid for the postage of letters in April,                                                                                                                                        | ..                    | 0                     | 14        | 6        |   |
|           | By balance this day in the Bank of Hindostan,                                                                                                                                            | ..                    | 2,080                 | 6         | 10       |   |
|           | By balance in the hands of the Secretary for current expenses,                                                                                                                           | ..                    |                       | 14        | 5        | 2 |
|           |                                                                                                                                                                                          |                       | <u>Sa. Rs. 17,090</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>3</u> |   |

E. E.

H. PALMER,

*Secy. E. I. P. Committee.*

\* A separate subscription has been raised for this purpose; and the sum of Sa. Rs. 587. 14. has been collected and sent to the Bank, since the 30th of April. Other sums still remain to be collected on the same account; and, should any surplus eventually accrue, it will be consolidated with the general fund.



# INSTRUCTIONS,

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B. K.L.S.

TO

OFFICERS ACTING UNDER HIS ORDERS

IN

CENTRAL INDIA,

A. D. 1821.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR KINGSBURY, PARBURY, & ALLEN,  
LEADENHALL STREET.

1824.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET-STREET.

## PREFACE.

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THE Instructions now published were written for those acting under my authority, when I was charged with the Administration of Central India. They were first printed by order of the Supreme Government, and have been subsequently published as part of the Appendix to the "Memoir of Central India." The frequent solicitations I have received for copies of these Instructions, and deference to the recommendations of some friends, who think the more general dissemination of the opinions contained in them would be useful, have led to their separate publication. No alterations have been made, but a few notes are added for the information of such readers as are not familiar with Indian history.



## INSTRUCTIONS.

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THESE Instructions are grounded upon principles which it has been my constant effort to inculcate upon all officers, acting under my orders; and, at a period when I am leaving Central\* India (perhaps not to return), I feel it a duty I owe to them, to myself, and to the public service, to enter into a more full explanation of my sentiments upon the subject of our general and local rule, than could have been necessary under any other circumstances.

Almost all who, from knowledge and experience, have been capable of forming any

\*Central India, so denominated from its comprising those provinces which, lying in the centre of India, may be said to extend from seventy-one to seventy-five degrees North latitude, and seventy-three to eighty East longitude. It comprehends all that extent of country which was known in the time of the Emperors of Delhi under the denomination of the Subah or Government of Malwa.—Vide *Memoir of Central India*, vol. i. p. 1.



judgment upon the question, are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the Natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength, to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we show to their habits, institutions, and religion,—by the moderation, temper, and kindness with which we conduct ourselves towards them; and injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shows disregard or neglect of individuals or communities, or that evinces our having, with the arrogance of conquerors, forgotten those maxims by which this great empire has been established, and by which alone it can be preserved.

The want of union of the Natives appears one of the strongest foundations of our power; it has certainly contributed, beyond all others, to its establishment. But, when we trace this cause, we find it to have originated in the condition in which we found India, and the line we adopted towards its inhabitants: that it will continue to operate when the condition of that country is changed, and under any alteration in our course of proceedings, is more than can be assumed.

The similarity of the situation of the great proportion of the people of this continent now subject to our rule, will assuredly make them more accessible to common motives of action, which is the foundation of all union; and the absence of that necessity for conciliation, which changes have effected, will make us more likely to forget its importance. Our power has hitherto owed much to a contrast with misrule and oppression; but this strength we are daily losing:—we have also been indebted to an indefinite impression of our resources, originating in ignorance of their real extent; knowledge will bring this feeling to a reduced standard. We are supported by the good opinion of the lower and middling classes, to whom our government is indulgent; but it has received the rudest shocks from an impression that our system of rule is at variance with the permanent continuance of rank, authority, and distinction in any Native of India. This belief, which is not without foundation, is general to every class, and its action leaves but an anxious and feverish existence to all who enjoy station and high name;—the feeling which their condition excites, exposes those who have any portion of power

and independence, to the arts of the discontented, the turbulent, and the ambitious : this is a danger to our power, which must increase in the ratio of its extent, unless we can counteract its operation by a commensurate improvement of our administration.

Our greatest strength perhaps, and that which gives the fairest hopes of the duration of our rule over India, arises out of the singular construction of the frame of both the controlling and the executive Government. Patronage in all the branches of the local government of India is exercised under much limitation and check : favour effects less in this country, and competency more, than in any other scene of equal magnitude. There is an interminable field for individual exertion ; and, though men high in station are almost absolute, (and the character of our rule requires they should be so,) there is, in that jealousy of such power which belongs to our native country, a very efficient shield against its abuse. This keeps men from being intoxicated with their short-lived authority ; and the fundamental principles which discourage colonization prevent public servants taking root in the soil, and make

them proceed to the duties of government, as they would in other countries to the routine of an office, which employs their talents without agitating their personal feelings and interests, in any degree that can disturb or bias their judgment. This absence of baneful passions, and of all the arts of intrigue and ambition which destroy empires, produces a calmness of mind that can belong alone to the rulers of a country situated as the English employed in India now are, and gives them an advantage which almost balances the bad effects of their want of those national ties that usually constitute the strength of governments.

Our success and moderation, contrasted with the misrule and violence to which a great part of the population of India have for more than a century been exposed, have at this moment raised the reputation of the British nation so high, that men have forgotten, in the contemplation of the security and prosperity they enjoy under strangers, their feelings of patriotism; but these are feelings which that very knowledge that it is our duty to impart must gradually revive and bring into action. The people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have

amends made them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters ; and this can alone be done by the combined efforts of every individual employed in a station of trust and responsibility, to render popular a government which, though not national, has its foundations laid deep on the principles of toleration, justice, and wisdom. Every agent of government should study and understand the above facts. He should not content himself with having acquired a knowledge of the languages, and of the customs, of those with whom he has intercourse. All his particular acts (even to the manner of them) should be regulated by recurrence to the foundation of our rule, and a careful observation of those principles by which it has been established and can alone be maintained. Of the importance of this I cannot better state my opinion, than by expressing my full conviction, that, independent of the prescribed duties which every qualified officer performs, there is no person in a situation of any consequence who does not, both in the substance and manner of his conduct, do something every day in his life, which, as it operates on the general interests of the empire through

the feelings of the circle he controls or rules, has an unseen effect in strengthening or weakening the government by which he is employed. My belief that what I have assumed is correct, will be my excuse for going into some minuteness in my general instructions to those under my orders.

The first, and one of the most important points, is the manner of European superiors towards the Natives. It would be quite out of place, in this paper, to speak of the necessity of kindness, and of an absence of all violence; this must be a matter of course with those to whom it is addressed: there is much more required from them than that conciliation which is a duty, but which, when it appears as such, loses half its effect. It must, to make an impression, be a habit of the mind, grounded on a favourable consideration of the qualities and merits of those to whom it extends; and this impression, I am satisfied, every person will have, who, after attaining a thorough knowledge of the real character of those with whom he has intercourse, shall judge them, without prejudice or self-conceit, by a standard which is suited to their belief, their usages, their habits, their occupations, their rank in

the ideas they have imbibed from infancy, and the stage of civilization to which the community as a whole are advanced. If he does so with that knowledge and that temper of mind which are essential to render him competent to form an opinion, he will find enough of virtue, enough of docility and disposition to improvement, enough of regard and observance of all the best and most sacred ties of society, to create an esteem for individuals, and an interest in the community, which, when grounded on a sincere conviction of its being deserved, will render his kindness natural and conciliating. All human beings, down to the lowest links of the chain, inclusive of children, are quick in tracing the source of the manners of others, and, above all, of their superiors:—when that is regulated by the head, not the heart—when it proceeds from reason, not from feeling, it cannot please; for it has in it, if at all artificial, a show of design which repels, as it generates suspicion. When this manner takes another shape, when kindness and consideration appear as acts of condescension, it must be felt as offensive. Men may dread, but can never love

or regard, those who are continually humiliating them by the parade of superiority.

I have recommended those foundations of manner, towards the Natives of India, upon which I feel my own to be grounded. I can recollect (and I do it with shame) the period when I thought I was very superior to those with whom my duty made me associate; but as my knowledge of them and of myself improved, the distance between us gradually lessened. I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over them, but cannot think that, if all the ranks of the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just ground for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former: nor can I join in that common-place opinion, which condemns, in a sweeping way, the Natives of this country as men, taking the best of them, not only unworthy of trust and devoid of principle, but of too limited intelligence and reach of thought, to allow of Europeans, with large and liberal minds and education, having rational or satisfactory intercourse with them. Such impressions, if admitted, must prove vital as to the manner of treating



the Natives of India : I shall therefore say a few words upon the justice of the grounds upon which they rest. The man who considers them in this light can grant little or no credit to the high characters and the eulogies which are given to individuals and great bodies of men in their own histories, traditions, and records. He must then judge them by his own observations and knowledge, and his opinion will in all probability be formed, not comparatively with Europeans of their own class of life, but with the public servants of government—a class of men who are carefully educated, whose ambition is stimulated by the highest prospects of preferment, and whose integrity is preserved by adequate salaries through every grade of their service. Before this last principle was introduced (which is little more than thirty years), the European servants of government were in the habit of making money in modes not unsimilar to those we now reproach the Natives in our employ with doing ; and it may here be asked, “ if the same endeavours have been made to alter the habits of the latter as the former ? ” I believe the exact contrary to be the fact, and that the system since introduced has not operated more to elevate

the European, than to sink and depress the Native character; but this is not the place for the discussion of this large question.

Many of the moral defects of the Natives of India are to be referred to that misrule and oppression from which they are now in a great degree emancipated. I do not know the example of any great population, in similar circumstances, preserving, through such a period of change and tyrannical rule, so much of virtue and so many good qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country. This is to be accounted for, in some degree, by the Hindu institutions, particularly that of Caste, which appear to have raised them to their present rank in human society, at a very remote period; but these have certainly tended to keep them stationary at that point of civil order to which they were thus early advanced. With a just admiration of the effects of many of their institutions, particularly those parts of them which cause in vast classes, not merely an absence of the common vices of theft, drunkenness, and violence, but preserve the virtuous ties of family and kindred relations, we must all deplore some of their usages and weak su-

perstitutions; but what individuals, or what races of men, are without great and manifold errors and imperfections? and what mind, that is not fortified with ignorance or pride, can, on such grounds, come to a severe judgment against a people like that of India?

I must here, however, remark; that I have invariably found, unless in a few cases where knowledge had not overcome self-sufficiency and arrogance, that in proportion as European officers, civil and military, advanced in their acquaintance with the language and customs of the Natives of India, they became more sincerely kind to them; and, on the contrary, ignorance always accompanied that selfish pride and want of consideration which held them light, or treated them with harshness.

I am quite satisfied in my own mind, that, if there is one cause more than another that will impede our progress to the general improvement of India, it is a belief formed by its population, from the manner of their English superiors, that they are viewed by them as an inferior and degraded race: but, on the contrary, if the persons employed in every branch of the administration of this great country, while their conduct marks those

rigid principles of virtue and justice, under the check of which they act, comport themselves towards the people whom it is their duty to make happy, with that sincere humility of heart which always belongs to real knowledge, and which attaches while it elevates, they will contribute by such manner, more than any measures of boasted wisdom ever can, to the strength and duration of their government.

It is of importance, before I conclude this part of the subject, to state my opinion, that in our manner to the Natives, though it is our duty to understand and to pay every proper deference to their customs and usages, and to conform with these as far as we can, with propriety, particularly on points where the religious prejudices or the rank of those with whom we have intercourse require it, yet we should always preserve the European; for, to adopt their manners is a departure from the very principle on which every impression of our superiority that rests upon good foundation is grounded. We should take a lesson on such points from what we see occur to Native princes and others, who ape English habits and modes, they lose ground with

one class, that to which they belong, without gaining with the other, that to which they wish to approximate. The fact is, they ultimately lose with the latter; for even their attachment is useless, when they cease to have influence with their own tribe. The European officer, who assumes Native manners and usages, may please a few individuals, who are flattered or profited by his departure from the habits of his country; but even with these, familiarity will not be found to increase respect; and the adoption of such a course will be sure to sink him in the estimation of the mass of the community, both European and Native, among whom he resides.

The intercourse to be maintained with the Natives within your circle is of two kinds, —private and official. The first should extend as much as possible to all ranks and classes, and be as familiar, as kind, and as frequent, as the difference of habits and pursuits will admit.

There is a veil between the Natives of India and their European superiors, which leaves the latter ignorant, in an extraordinary degree, of the real character of the former. He can only judge his own domestics by

what he sees of their conduct in his presence; of the manner in which they perform their other duties in life, he is, if not ignorant, but imperfectly informed: so many minute obstacles, grounded upon caste, usages, and religion, oppose an approach to closer acquaintance, that it can never be generally attained; but in private intercourse much may be learned that will facilitate the performance of public duty, and give that knowledge of the usages and feelings of the various classes of the Natives, which will enable its possessors to touch every chord with effect. In joining with them in field-sports, in an unceremonious interchange of visits with the most respectable, and in seeking the society of the most learned, the European public officer will not only gain much information, but impart complete confidence, and lay the grounds of that personal attachment which will ever be found of the greatest aid to his public labours. He will also obtain, by such habits of private intercourse, the means of elevating those he esteems by marks of notice and regard; but, in pursuing this course, he must beware lest he lose his object, by falling into the weaknesses or indulgences of

the persons with whom he thus associates. It is in the performance of this part of his duty, when all the pride of station is laid aside, that he must most carefully guard that real superiority which he derives from better knowledge and truer principles of morality and religion; for it is from the impression made by the possession, without the ostentation of those higher qualities, that he must expect the benefits I have described as likely to result from a familiar and private intercourse with the Natives under his direction and control.

In all official intercourse with the Natives, one of the first points of importance is, that these, whatever be their rank, class, or business, should have complete and easy access to personal communication with their European superior. The necessity of this arises out of the character of our rule, and of those over whom it is established. It is sufficiently galling for the people of India to have foreign masters: the impression this feeling must continually excite, can only be mitigated or removed by a recurring sense of the advantages they derive from the wisdom and justice of their European superiors; and this can alone be effected by direct communication

with them. Though Native servants must be employed and trusted, and though it is quite essential to behave to all with kindness, and to raise the higher classes of them by a treatment which combines consideration and respect, yet they can never without hazard be used as exclusive mediums of communication: their real or supposed influence will, under whatever circumstances they are allowed frequent approach to an European officer in the exercise of authority, give them opportunities of abusing his confidence, if they desire it; and as our servants, who are seldom selected from the higher classes, cannot be supposed to have even the same motives with Native rulers for good conduct, much less the same title to regard, men under our power will have, in aggravation of the feeling arising out of subjection to foreign rule, that of being, to a certain extent, at the mercy of persons of their own nation, whom they neither trust nor respect. There is no remedy for such an evil, except being completely easy of access; but this, however much the superior may desire it, is not to be established without difficulty and perseverance. It affects the interest and consequence of every man in his employ, from the



highest to the lowest; but, in proportion to their efforts to counteract it, so must his be to carry this important point, on which, more than all others, the integrity of his personal administration and the good of the country depend. No Native servant, high or low, must be allowed the privilege of either introducing or stopping an applicant or a complainant: all such must come with confidence to the European superior, or to such assistant as he may specifically direct to receive or hear them. It requires much temper and patience, constant activity, and no slight sacrifice of personal comfort, to maintain an intercourse with the Natives upon this footing; but, unless it be done, (I speak here from the fullest experience,) the government of control now established\* in Central India cannot be carried on for any period, and the changes which must ensue from relaxation in

\* In consequence of the success of the Pindarry war in A. D. 1818 and 1819, our power was established over almost all the country called Central India; but, with the exception of a few districts, its provinces remained with the Native princes and chiefs who before possessed them. These, with hardly what can be called an exception, became, under different treaties and engagements, dependent on the protection and subject to the control of the British government.

this particular will be brought about in the manner most unfavourable to our character and reputation.

In establishing this direct personal intercourse, it is perhaps better, when the habits are so formed as to admit of it, that the Natives of all classes and ranks should have admission and be heard, at whatever hour of the day they come, except those of meals; but, where such constant intrusion is found to interrupt other business, as it may with many, certain portions of every day must be set aside to hear representations and complaints, and to see those who desire to be seen. The establishment of direct intercourse is, in my opinion, a primary and indispensable duty,—one no more dependent upon the inclination or judgment of the individuals to whom the charge of managing or controlling these countries is entrusted; than it is to an officer whether he shall attend his parade, or to a judge whether he shall sit a certain number of hours in his court: indeed, I consider that late events have so completely altered our condition in India, that the duties of almost every officer in the political department have become, in a great degree, magis-

terial, and, as such, must be more defined, and subject to more exact rules, than they formerly were.

Our right of interference (as will be shown hereafter) is so limited, that it is not in one case in a hundred of those that are brought forward, that an officer can do more than state calmly and clearly, to the party who seeks redress, the reasons and principles which prevent him from attending to his representation or complaint. He will have to repeat this perhaps fifty times in one day; but he must, in contemplating the good that will be ultimately produced, be content to take this trouble. The Natives of India cannot persuade themselves that, possessing as we do the means of establishing our direct rule, we shall long refrain from doing so. This impression weakens those princes, chiefs, and ministers, whom it is our policy to support, in a degree that almost unfits them for being instruments of government. We can only counteract its bad effects by making ourselves understood by all, even to the lowest, upon this point: it is one on which they will never trust to a communication from any Native agent or servant, nor indeed will they be convinced of our sincerity till they observe

for years that our words and actions are in unison; and they must, to satisfy them that there is no prospect of those fluctuations to which they have been so habituated, see that every thing originates with and is known to the superior. This knowledge, added to the right of approaching him at all moments, will gradually tranquillize their minds, and place them, as far as they can be placed, beyond the power of being made the dupes of artful or interested men.

It has been before said, that Native servants of all classes should be treated with that attention and respect to which they were from their station and character entitled. These will, of course, have at all times the freest intercourse with the superior, but they should never have the privilege of coming to any conference between him and other Natives, to which they were not specifically called. But these servants (whatever might be their inclination) will have little power of doing harm when a direct intercourse (such as has been described) is well established, and its principles and objects generally understood. Indeed, one of the best effects of that intercourse is the check it constitutes on all nefarious proceedings of subordinate

agents, and persons of every description; as such must act in hourly dread of discovery, when every man can tell his own story to the principal at any moment he pleases.

The next important point to be observed in official intercourse with the Natives, is "publicity." There can be no occasion to expatiate, here, upon the utility of this principle. It is the happy privilege of a state so constituted as that of the English in India, to gain strength in the ratio that its measures, and the grounds on which they are adopted, are made public; and this is above all essential in a quarter of India where we are as yet but imperfectly understood. There are, and can be, no secrets in our ordinary proceedings, and every agent will find his means of doing good advanced, his toil lessened, and the power of the designing and corrupt to misrepresent his actions or intentions decreased, in the proportion that he transacts affairs in public. He should avoid, as much as he possibly can, private conferences with those in his employ or others. These will be eagerly sought for; they give the individual thus admitted the appearance of favour and influence; and there is no science in which the more artful among the Natives are greater

adepts, than that of turning to account the real or supposed confidence of their superiors. I know no mode of preventing the mischief which this impression, if it becomes general, gives men the power of effecting, but habitual publicity in transacting business. This will, no doubt, be found to have inconveniences, which will be purposely increased by those who have their game to play, and indeed others; for Natives of rank and station, even when they have no corrupt views, are from habit and self-importance attached to a secret and mysterious way of conducting both great and small affairs.

A public officer, placed in your situation, must always be vigilant and watchful of events likely to affect the peace of the country under his charge; but no part of his duty requires such care and wisdom in its performance. He cannot rest in blind confidence, nor refuse attention to obvious and well-authenticated facts; but he must be slow in giving his ear, or in admitting to private and confidential intercourse, secret agents and informers, lest they make an impression (which will be their object) upon his mind; for there is no failing of human nature to which the worst part of the Natives of

India have learned (from the shape of their own government) so well to address themselves, as any disposition to suspicion in their superiors. From the condition of Central India, abounding as it must with discontented and desperate characters, intrigues, treasonable conversations and papers, and immature plots, must, for some time, be matters of frequent occurrence and growth; but such will, in general, be best left to perish of neglect. Established as our power now is, men cannot collect any means capable of shaking it, without being discovered; and it is, I am convinced, under all ordinary circumstances, wiser and safer to incur petty hazard, than to place individuals and communities at the mercy of artful and avaricious agents and spies, or to goad unfortunate men to a state of hostility by continually viewing them with an eye of torturing and degrading suspicion.

In the intercourse with the Natives of your circle, it is hardly necessary to advert to the subject of giving and receiving presents. The recent orders upon this subject, which have been communicated to you, are very defined and strict; but there is a necessity, in this government of control, for every agent to maintain, on a high ground, not only the

purity, but the disinterestedness of the English character; and you will avoid, as much as you possibly can, incurring any obligation to local authorities. These will sedulously endeavour to promote your convenience and comfort, and will press favours upon you, both from design and good feelings; but there is a strength in preserving complete independence on all such points, that must not be abandoned. Our political superiority, to be efficient, must be unmixed with any motives or concerns, either connected with our personal interest or that of others, that can soil or weaken that impression on which its successful exercise depends.

The forms of the official intercourse between European agents and Natives of rank were, before we obtained paramount power, a matter of more moment, and one on which we could less relax than at present, because our motives were at that period more liable to be mistaken. Though it is essential, in our intercourse with nations who are attached to and give value to ceremonies, to understand such perfectly, and to claim from all what is due to our station, that we may not sink the rank of the European superior in the estimation of those subject



to his control; it is now the duty of the former to be much more attentive to the respect which he gives than what he receives, particularly in his intercourse with men of high rank. The princes and chiefs of India may, in different degrees, be said to be all dependent on the British government: many have little more than the name of that power they before enjoyed; but they seem, as they lose the substance, to cling to the forms of station. The pride of reason may smile at such a feeling; but it exists, and it would be alike opposite to the principles of humanity and policy to deny it gratification.

In official intercourse with the lower classes, the latter should be treated according to the usages of the country, as practised by the most indulgent of their Native superiors. It will be found that they require personal notice and consideration in proportion as their state is removed from that knowledge which belongs to civilization; and it is on this ground that the Bheel\* must have more attention paid him

\* The Bheels are mountain-robbers. For a particular account of this remarkable race, vide *Memoir on Central India*, vol. i. pp. 116, 550, and vol. ii. p. 179.

than the Ryot. It is more difficult to give confidence to his mind, and to make him believe in the sincerity and permanence of the kindness with which he is treated, because he is in a condition more remote from the party with whom he communicates; and, before he can be reclaimed, he must be approximated.

The interference of agents employed in this country with Native princes, or courts, or their local officers, cannot be exactly defined, for there will be shades of distinction in every case, that will require attention; but all must be subject, and that in the strictest degree, to certain general and well-understood principles, founded on the nature of our power, our objects, our political relations with the different states, the personal conduct of their rulers, their necessity for our aid and support, and their disposition to require or reject it in the conduct of their internal administration. The leading principle, and the one which must be continually referred to, is grounded on the character of our controlling power and its objects. It is the avowed, and I am satisfied it is the true, policy of the British State, while it maintains the general peace

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of the country, to keep, not only in the enjoyment of their high rank, but in the active exercise of their sovereign functions the different princes and chiefs who are virtually or declaredly dependent on its protection. The principal object (setting aside the obligations of faith) is to keep at a distance that crisis to which, in spite of our efforts we are gradually approaching—of having the whole of India subject to our direct rule. There is no intention of discussing here the consequences likely to result from such an event. It is sufficient for executive and subordinate officers to know, that it is the desire of the government they serve, to keep it at a distance, to render it their duty to contribute their whole efforts to promote the accomplishment of that object; and on the manner and substance of their interference the local success of this policy will greatly depend.

On all points where we are pledged by treaty to support states, or to mediate or interfere between them and others, we must of course act agreeably to the obligations contracted; and, in such case, no instructions can be required. It may not, however, be unuseful to remark, that, on all occasions

where they are referred to, treaties and engagements should be interpreted with consideration to the prince or chief with whom they are made. There is often, from opposite education and habits, much difference between their construction and ours of such engagements; but no loose observation, or even casual departure from the letter of them, ought to lead to serious consequences, when it appeared there was no intention of violating the spirit of the deed, or of acting contrary to pledged faith. When any article of an engagement is doubtful, I think it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker than to the interests of the stronger power. It belongs to superior authority to give ultimate judgment upon all points of this nature which come under discussion; but that judgment must always be much influenced by the colour of the information, and opinion of the local agent. My desire is to convey how important every subject is that connects in the remotest degree with that reputation for good faith, which can only be considered our strength while it exists, unimpaired in the minds of the Natives: in this view the most scrupulous

attention should be paid to their understanding of every article of the agreements we make with them; for no local advantage, nor the promotion of any pecuniary interest, can compensate for the slightest injury to "this corner-stone of our power in India."

With the government of Dowlet Row Sindia\* (a great part of whose possessions are intermixed with those of our dependent allies in this quarter) we have only general relations of amity; and, however virtually dependent events may have rendered that prince, we can (except insisting upon the exact performance of those settlements which we have mediated between him or his delegated officers and some of his tributaries) claim no right of interference in any part of his internal administration; nor should there, unless in cases of unexpected emergency which threatened the general peace of the country, be any disposition shown to interference, except on specific

\* This Mahratta prince (for a particular account of whose family and possessions vide *Memoir on Central India*, vol. i. p. 116) is the only one who maintains a nominal independence of the British government; but he, in fact, now relies as much on that power as those chiefs who can claim its protection by treaty.

requisition from the resident at Gualior\*. Without interfering, however, we have hitherto, and shall continue to exercise a very salutary control both over Dowlet Row Sindia and his local officers, by the terms on which we communicate and act with the latter. When these are men of good character, and study the happiness of the inhabitants and the improvement of the country, we can, by the cordiality and consideration with which we treat them, and the ready attention we give to the settlement of every petty dispute they have with the subjects of our allies, as well as other friendly acts, grant them a countenance and aid which will promote the success of their local administration. The same principle leads to abstinence from all communication, and to our keeping aloof (except where the general peace is at hazard) from all intercourse with those of Sindia's managers who are noted for misrule or bad faith. This line of conduct towards the latter, grounded, as it publicly should be, on the avowed principle of keeping our character free of soil from their proceedings, will in-

\* Gualior is the capital of Dowlet Row Sindia, with whom a representative of the British government resides.

crease our local reputation, while it has the effect of rendering the employment of such men inconvenient and unprofitable to the state, and thus constitutes one of the chief means we have of working a reform in its internal administration: nor is it a slight one; for the impression of our power is so great, that the belief of a local officer possessing our good opinion and friendship, is of itself sufficient to repress opposition to his authority, while his forfeiting our favour is sure to raise him enemies, both in his district and at Gualior.

With the courts of Holkar\*, Dhar, Dewass, and almost all the petty Rajpoot states West of the Chumbul, our relations are different. These have been raised from a weak and fallen condition, to one of efficiency, through our efforts. But, though compelled, at first, to aid them in almost every settlement, we have, as they attained the power of acting for themselves, gradually withdrawn from minute interference on points connected with

\* For an account of the Mahratta families of Holkar, Dhar, and Dewass, vide *Memoir on Central India*, vol. i. pp. 142, 97, and 112. A detailed account of the Rajpoot chiefs here alluded to is given in p. 463 of the same volume.

their internal administration, limiting ourselves to what is necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

There is so strong a feeling in the minds of the princes and chiefs above alluded to, and in those of all their officers (from their prime minister down to the lowest agent), of their actual dependence upon the British government, that it is almost impossible to make them understand that they are, in the conduct of their internal administration, desired and expected to act independently of it. Their difficulty of comprehending and trusting the policy which dictates our conduct in this particular, arises out of its being opposite to all their habits and knowledge. Time alone, and the most minute care of every European agent employed, can impart to them that confidence which is essential to their becoming competent functionaries of rule. To effect this object, the principles hitherto inculcated and acted upon must be steadily pursued, and we must decline all interference, except in cases where Grassiahs\*, Bheels, or other plunderers are con-

\* The Grassiahs are Rajpoot chiefs, who subsist by extorting, through force or intimidation, a part of the produce of those



cerned. These, from their situation and strength, can only be kept in order by the power of the British government; but we must, in such cases even, have the limits of our interference exactly defined, that no belief may exist of our possessing the power of departing from the restrictions we have imposed upon ourselves; for on such impressions being general, and being confirmed by scrupulous consistency of action, depends our success in giving that efficiency to the various Native authorities subject to our control, which is necessary to enable them to perform the different duties allotted to them.

In cases of interference with lesser rulers, such as the reformed Rajpoot plunderers and Bheel chiefs, we may be compelled to enter more minutely into their affairs; but the principles observed should be the same; and while we take care to repress every disposition to a return to predatory habits, and see that men who have long cherished such, possess themselves of honest means of live-

districts they once possessed, but from which they have been expelled by Mahratta invaders. For a particular account of these chiefs, vide *Memoir on Central India*, vol. i. p. 508, and vol. ii. p. 244.

lihood, we must respect their prejudices, and not hastily break in upon the rude frame of their internal rule; but leave (down to the Turwee, or head of the Bheel Parah or cluster of hamlets) the full exercise of his authority over those under him, according as that is grounded on the ancient prejudices and usages of the tribe to which he and his family or followers belong.

The feelings of irritation and hatred with which almost all the princes and chiefs of this quarter regard the Grassiahs and Bheels, and the total want of confidence of the latter in their nominal superiors, have and will continue to render calls for our interference very frequent: but however high the character and condition of the one party, and however bad and low that of the other may be, we must never grant our name or support to measures of coercion or violence, without fully understanding the merits of the case, nor without having had direct communication with the party or parties inculpatated; otherwise we may be involved in embarrassment, and become unconsciously the instruments of injustice and oppression.

Many questions will occur, deeply connected with our reputation for good faith,

which cannot be decided by any exact rules; but whenever that is concerned, the tone of our feeling should be very high. It is the point upon which the moral part of our government of this great empire hinges; and in these countries, where our rule and control are new, and in which the inhabitants cannot yet understand any explanations that do not rest upon broad and obvious grounds, the subject requires much attention. There are many cases in which our faith, though not specifically, is virtually pledged to individuals: ministers, for instance, of minor or incompetent princes or chiefs, who have been brought forward or recognized by us in the exercise of authority, have a claim upon our support and consideration, which nothing but bad conduct on their part can forfeit. We should, no doubt, be most careful of any interference that leads to such obligations. They are only to be incurred when a necessity that involves the peace and prosperity of the country calls for them: but they must be sacredly observed; for, with a people who look, in all questions of government, more to persons than systems, the abandonment, except from gross misconduct, of any individual who had

been raised or openly protected by us, would excite stronger feelings than the breach of an article of a treaty, and locally prove more injurious, as it weakens that reliance upon our faith which is the very foundation of our strength.

We may rest satisfied, while we pursue the course I have stated, (and it is the one to which our faith is almost in every case, either directly or by implication, pledged,) that we have, from our paramount power, a very efficient check over states and tribes, whose rulers, officers, and chiefs will soon discover that they can only gain our favour and support by good conduct, or forfeit it by bad. With such knowledge and with means comparatively limited, we cannot expect they will be disposed to incur displeasure, when the terms on which they can gain approbation are so easy; at least no men possessed of common sense and discernment (qualities in which the Natives of India are seldom deficient) can be expected to act in such a manner; but we must not conceal from ourselves, that their conduct in this, as in all other particulars, will rest chiefly on the value of that condition in which they are placed, or rather left; and

in proportion as we render it one of comfort and dignity, so will their care be to preserve our good opinion and to merit our confidence. It is, indeed, upon our success in supporting their respectability, that the permanence of a system of control over great and small Native states, such as we have established in this quarter of India, we depend. We have no choice of means for the performance of this delicate and arduous part of our duty. Though the chief must be efficient, it should be almost unseen: the effect ought to be produced more by the impression than the exercise of superior power. Our principal object must be to elevate the authorities to whom we have left the administration of their respective territories; we must, in all cases of interference, bring them forward to their own subjects, as the prominent objects of respect and obedience; so far from the agent attracting notice to himself, he should purposely repeat, that it may be given to the quarter where it is wanted, and to which it belongs.

When we aid any prince or chief against his own subjects, his name should be exclusively used; and we should be most careful in making our Native agents and servants p

the full measure of respect to every branch of his administration, and continually be on the watch to check that disposition which is inherent in them, to slight local authorities, that they may, in the name of their master, draw that attention to themselves, which it is quite essential should belong to the officers of the Native government. It is evident that our control can only be supportable, to any human being who has the name and appearance of power, so long as it is exercised in a general manner, and regulated by the principles above stated. When it descends to minute checks and interference in the collection of revenue, the administration of justice, listens to the complaints of discontented, or even aggrieved individuals, and allows, upon system, its own Native agents to interfere and act in the name of the paramount state; the continuance of independent power, in any shape, to either prince or chief, is not only impolitic but dangerous, as this condition must be felt by himself, and by all attached to his person or family, as a mockery and degradation; and the least effect of such feelings will be the extermination of all motive to good or great actions. or when control is divested of its large and

liberal character, and takes a more min shape, whatever merit belongs to the ad nistration becomes the due of the person whom it is exercised, or his agents, and nominal prince and his officers are degraded into suspected and incompetent instruments of rule.

In this general outline of our interfere with the rulers, great and small, of this p of India, I have dwelt much upon the p tical considerations upon which it is grou ed ; because I am convinced, that there is part of the subject that requires to be deeply studied and so fully understood, this should be, by every subordinate age for there is no point of his duty which is once so delicate and arduous, or in wh success or failure so much depends upon di vidual exertion. He will be prompted deviate from the course prescribed, by action of his best feelings, and by hopes increasing his personal reputation ; but will be kept steady in that course by a kno ledge of the importance of those gene principles on which the present system res It is in the performance of this part of duty, that all which has been said regard manner and intercourse must be in his

mory; for men in the situation in which those are, with whom he must in all cases of interference come in contact, are not to be conciliated to their condition, nor kept in that temper with the paramount authority which it is necessary for its interest they should be, by mere correctness or strict attention to justice. The Native governments must be courted and encouraged to good conduct, and the earnest endeavour of the British agent must be, to give their rulers a pride in their administration: to effect this object, he must win to his side, not only the rulers themselves, but the principal and most respectable men of the country. In his efforts to gain the latter, however, he must beware of depriving the local authority of that public opinion which is so essential both as a check to misrule and a reward to good government, but which would cease to be felt as either, the moment the ties between prince and subject were seriously injured or broken.

Where the public peace, of which we are the avowed protectors, has been violated, or where murders or robberies have been committed, we have a right to urge the local authorities (whom we aid with the means both for the prevention and punishment of such



crimes) to pursue, according to their own usages, the course best calculated to preserve the safety of persons and of property. In other cases connected with the administration of justice, though there is no right of interference, it will be for their interest, and for our reputation, to lose no opportunity of impressing generally the benefit and good name that will result from attention to ancient institutions, particularly to that of the popular courts of Panchayet, which have never been discontinued, but in periods marked by anarchy and oppression.

The practice of Suttee\* is not frequent in Malwa, and that of infanticide is, I believe, less so. The first is a usage, which, however shocking to humanity, has defenders among every class of the Hindu community. The latter is held in abhorrence by all but the Rajpoot families, by whom it is practised, and to whom it is confined; yet many of the most respectable chiefs of that tribe speak of this crime with all the horror it merits. You cannot interfere in the prevention of either of these sacrifices, beyond the exercise of that influence which you possess from the fact that there is a Hindu term for the self-sacrifice of a female at the funeral-pile of her husband.

personal character: indeed, to attempt more, would be at the hazard of making wrong impressions, and of defeating the end you desired to attain. Praise of those who abstain from such acts, and neglect of those who approve or perpetrate them, is the best remedy that can be applied. It is the course I have pursued, and has certainly been attended with success.

That the line of interference which has been described is difficult, will not be denied; but what course can we discover for the future rule and control of the different Native states in India, which does not present a choice of difficulties? Men are too apt, at the first view of this great subject, to be deluded by a desire to render easy, and to simplify, what is of necessity difficult and complicated. Moral considerations come in aid of the warmest and best sentiments of the human mind to entice us to innovation; we feel ourselves almost the sharers of that crime and misrule which we think our interference could mitigate or amend; and, in the fervour of our virtue, we are too apt to forget, that temporary or partial benefit often entails lasting and general evil,—that every plan, however theoretically good, must be

practically bad, that is imperfectly executed. We forget, in the pride of our superior knowledge, the condition of others; and self-gratification makes almost every man desire to crowd into the few years of his official career the work of half a century. Thus measures have been, and continue to be, brought forward "in advance of the community" for whose benefit they are intended. Of what has passed, it is not necessary to speak; the future is in our power, and I cannot conclude this part of the subject, which relates to an interference that is calculated, according as it is managed, to hasten or retard the introduction of our direct rule, without impressing upon every officer employed under my orders the importance of a conduct calculated to preserve, while it improves, the established governments and Native authorities of the country. To these it is his duty to give such impulse as he can, without injuring their frame, towards an amendment suited to their situation, to the character of the rulers, and to that of the various classes under their rule. I consider, and the opinion is the result of both experience and reflection, that all dangers to our power in India are slight in comparison with

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those which are likely to ensue from our too zealous efforts to change the condition of its inhabitants, with whom we are yet, in my opinion, but very imperfectly acquainted. A person who entertains such sentiments as I do on this question, must appear the advocate of very slow reform; but if I am so, it is from a full conviction that any thing like precipitation in our endeavours at improvement is likely to terminate in casting back those we desire to advance: on the contrary, if instead of overmarching, we are content to go along with this immense population, and to be in good temper with their prejudices, their religion, and usages, we must gradually win them to better ways of thinking and of acting. The latter process, no doubt, must be one of great time; but its success will be retarded by every hasty step.

There are few points on which more care is required than the selection and employment of Native servants for the public service. The higher classes of these, such as Moonshees,\* Mootsuddies,† and Writers, should be men of regular habits of life, intelligent, and of good characters in their

\* Moonshee—Mahomedan secretary or writer.

† Mootsuddie—Hindu writer.

own tribes. There is no objection to an officer continuing to keep in service a person he has brought from a distant province, who has been long with him, and on whose fidelity and competence he can repose; but, generally speaking, it is much better to entertain respectable Natives or old residents of the country in which he is employed; such may have looser habits and be less attached, but the former his vigilance will check and correct, and attachment will soon be created by kindness and consideration. Their advantages over foreigners are very numerous. The principal are, their acquaintance with the petty interests of the country, and their knowledge of all the prejudices and the jealousies of the different classes of the community to which they belong. On all these points the superior should be minutely informed, and, if he employs men not personally acquainted with the disposition and condition of those under his charge or control, his information on such subjects must come through multiplied mediums, which is in itself a serious evil. But, independent of this, the employment of the Natives of a distant province is always unpopular, and they are generally viewed

with dislike and suspicion by the higher and more respectable classes of the country into which they are introduced. This excites a feeling in the minds of the former, which either makes them keep aloof from all connexion with the inhabitants, or seek the society, and use as instruments, men who are discontented or of indifferent character. It is difficult to say which of these causes has the worst effect. The one gives an impression of pride, if not contempt, and the other of design and an inclination to intrigue; and both operate unfavourably to the local reputation of the master.

I have observed, that the Natives who are least informed of the principles of our rule, are ready to grant respect and confidence to an English officer, which they refuse to persons of their own tribe; but they are apt to form an unfavourable opinion of his disposition and character from any bad conduct of his Native servants, if foreigners: on the contrary, when the latter are members of their own community, the exposure of their errors or crimes, while it brings shame and conveys a salutary lesson to the class to which they belong, is attended with the effect of raising, instead of depressing, the

European in their estimation. To all these general reasons might be added many, grounded on the particular condition of Central India. The oppression the inhabitants of this quarter have recently suffered, both from Hindu and Mahomedan Natives of the Deckan\* and Hindustan,† makes them naturally alarmed at these classes. There is also, in the impoverished state of many of the best families of the country, a strong additional reason for our giving them, in preference to strangers, what little we can of salary as public servants.

In the above observations there is no desire to exclude any member of Deckan or Hindustan families, who have settled for life, or for several generations, in Malwa; such objection would proscribe from our employ some of the most intelligent and respectable inhabitants of that province.

\* The term Deckan means South, and is given to the southern parts of India; but, in a limited sense, is now applied to the territories of the Nizam or Prince of Hyderabad, and to those above the mountains which formerly belonged to the Paishwah or head of the Poonah government.

† Hindustan, in its local and limited sense, comprehends the large and rich provinces which form the western parts of India, from Lucknow to the Punjab, and from the country of Rajpootana to the Himalaya mountains.

It has been before mentioned, that "publicity" in our transaction of business is most essential, chiefly as it puts at repose an alarmed and agitated population, and, beyond all, their princes and chiefs. We may greatly promote this object by the selection of servants. I early observed a very serious uneasiness, if not alarm, in Holkar's ministers, regarding the course I meant to pursue towards that court; and as one means of removing it, I chose as a principal Native writer an intelligent Brahmin, whose family was attached to that of Holkar, in whose employ I found him; and who could, I knew, from his connexions, have no permanent interests, separate from his duty to that state. I was conscious of having nothing to conceal, but I knew the importance of Tantia Jogh\* and others being satisfied that this was the case. No measure I have adopted, has tended more to tranquillize their minds; and I state the fact, because its application may be suited to cases of daily occurrence.

In the employment of the higher classes

\* Tantia Jogh, the Minister of the minor Prince Mulhar Row Holkar.



of Native servants, they should, as much as possible, be restricted to their specific duties, and no one should be allowed to take a lead, or mix (unless when directed) in the occupation of another. The keeping of these persons in their exact places will be found difficult, from the habits of the Natives being opposite to such rules; but it is essential: for errors, if not guilt, will be the certain consequence of a confusion of duties, which destroys that pride which good men feel from possessing confidence, and enables bad to evade that personal responsibility which constitutes the chief check upon their conduct.

The employment of the lower classes of public servants requires much attention. These should be selected on the same principles that have already been stated, with reference to the duties they are to perform, which ought always to be exactly defined, and their conduct vigilantly watched. It will indeed be found useful to render as public as possible the nature of their employment, and to call upon all local authorities to aid us in the prevention of those unauthorized and odious acts of injustice and oppression towards the inhabitants of the

country which this class will, in spite of all our efforts, find opportunities of committing.

I speak from the fullest experience when I state, that, though the Natives of India may do full justice to the purity of our intentions, and the excellence of the principles of our rule, they are undisguised in their sentiments regarding those parts of our administration in which the very dregs of their own community are employed. They cannot, indeed, but see with feelings of detestation and resentment a man raised from the lowest of their own ranks, and decorated with the official badge or stick of a civil or political English officer, become the very next moment insolent to persons to whom he and his family have been for ages submissive, or turn the extortioner of money from those tribes, among which he has before lived as an humble individual.

The power of this class of servants to injure our reputation is every where great, but more so in the proportion that the Natives of the country are ignorant of our real character, and where their dread of our power is excessive. Of the mischief they have done, or rather tried to do, in Malwa, I can speak from a perfect knowledge. I

have endeavoured with unremitting solicitude to counteract their impositions and oppressions, by publishing proclamations, and giving high rewards to all who informed against or seized any of my servants, when attempting the slightest interference in the country, or affecting to have any business beyond that of carrying a letter, or some specified or limited duty; but I have, nevertheless, been compelled within three years to punish publicly and discharge one Moon-shee, two Mootsuddies or writers, three Jemadars\*, and upwards of fifty Hircarrahs†; and almost an equal number of the same class belonging to other public officers have been taken and punished, or banished the country.

These examples will shew the danger of being tempted, by any convenience of service, or a desire to accelerate the accomplishment of our objects, to employ such instruments with any latitude of action.

The importance of encouraging the de-

\* A Jemadar is the head or principal of the Hircarrahs.

† Hircarrāh means literally "a man of all work," but is commonly applied, as in the text, to messengers who are distinguished by particular dresses, by bearing a stick or pike, and by wearing badges which denote the names of those by whom they are employed.

pendent states of India to do their own work, and to lean, on points of internal administration, as little as possible upon us, has been before noticed; and as long as we manage to keep clear of that species of interference which weakens and unsettles, without any proportionate good to balance its evil effects, we shall have credit in general opinion for all the good measures which the State under our protection adopts, and our reputation will be benefited (from the comparisons that are drawn) even by its acts of folly and injustice. But the latter advantage will be lost by any half and impolitic mixture in its concerns, and there is no mode in which this will be found so injurious as that of granting it the aid of Native servants in our employ. Allowing the higher classes of these to enter into the affairs of such governments in any shape, would be destructive of every principle that has been inculcated; but the giving their rulers, ministers, or local officers, the aid of lower servants, would be still more to the injury of our reputation; for among the higher classes we might find men of virtue and firmness of character beyond what could be expected from the others, when exposed,

as they would be, to such temptation. They would be used for purposes of coercion, if not oppression; and there would be sufficient art in those who thus employed them, to throw, when that was their object, the odium of what these instruments did, upon the English government. But, in general, their desire would be limited to have the aid of the British name to alarm into compliance with their demands, individuals or communities. They would be aware that the Hircarrah or servant sent to assist their authority was a check upon their proceedings, and this would lead to his being bribed; and, if he did not become an instrument of violence, it would only be because he received higher wages from the party he was sent to oppress. I have seen such manifold instances of the bad effects resulting from the employment of this class in the manner described, that I have for more than three years peremptorily refused any such aid to Native chiefs, and must require all those under my orders to do the same. The best answer to all applications upon this subject is, that compliance is at variance with the system ordered to be pursued; and that the usage of granting such aid, though it might

be found convenient, and in some cases accelerate the accomplishment of good measures, must in the end produce much evil, and be attended with loss of reputation to the British government, whose good name could not be intrusted to low agents and menials acting beyond the strict and vigilant observation of the European officer.

The right we have to act, when the public peace is threatened or disturbed, has been generally noticed under the head of interference; but it will be useful to say a few words on the mode of exercising that right, particularly as it relates to points which are connected with the internal administration of police and criminal justice.

In countries which have been long in the condition of Central India, there is a connexion formed between the most powerful and those who are apparently the most insignificant of the disturbers of the public peace, which will for some time require a vigilant attention to every act of the latter to prevent the revival of a disorderly or predatory spirit. In common cases we shall only have to prompt the local authority to exertions. But when our aid is required, and troops or any persons acting under our orders apprehend

delinquents, they should invariably be given over to the ruler or chief in whose countries the crimes were committed, by whom they will be examined, and punished according to established custom. I have usually limited my interference in this part of the administration of the Native States of Malwa to two points. The first is, that in cases of robbery, but particularly cattle (the common booty of Bheels and other plunderers), there should be restitution to the owners, the moment the property was proved; leaving those persons through whose hands it has passed, by real or pretended sales, to have their disputes and recriminations settled, and to recover from each other, according to usage. This practice is now general, and its enforcement for the last two years has done more to put an end to Bheel and other robberies than all the other measures that have been taken. The second point on which I have endeavoured to make a change in practice of the administration of justice in the Native States of Malwa, is that of preventing the crime of wilful murder being commuted for the payment of a pecuniary fine; but in all cases of this nature, where circumstances compel

us to interfere, it is desirable that no execution should take place till guilt has been clearly proved. The observance of this rule is more necessary, as in cases where the criminals are of a plundering tribe, such as Bheels and Baugries\*, the Native ruler or chief will be disposed to deem the mere accusation enough to warrant the punishment; whereas, it is exactly with such classes that it is of importance to us to be more particular, lest we lose the impression we desire to make upon them, by becoming in any way accessaries to acts of violence or injury.

On all occasions when the local power is sufficient, it is most desirable to bring it into action, that it may cease to be dependent upon us for the maintenance of the internal peace. This is particularly advisable, where excesses are committed, that have, either as their real or professed causes, superstitious or religious feelings. In such cases, except where the mixture of political motives is manifest and avowed, or the danger imminent, we should call upon the Native government, by its duty and allegiance to the paramount state, to put down all dis-

\* Baugries, a tribe of robbers.—Vide *Memoir on Central India*, vol. ii. p. 182.



turbers of the peace, particularly when fanatics, like those at Pertaubgurh\*, combine with their atrocities the avowal of sentiments hostile to our rule. The actual condition of Central India makes it likely that such efforts as those above alluded to may be repeated, and they will always (however contemptible they may seem) require to be treated with much delicacy. It should be deemed a guiding principle not to act, if we can avoid it; and when absolutely compelled to do so, it is essential that we should appear, not as principals, but in support of the local government: for the spirit that engenders such excesses, whether they proceed from intrigue or fanaticism, will only attain strength by opposition; and any violent measures on our part, however justified by crime or outrage, might make the most unfavourable impressions upon an ignorant and bigoted population, who, while they confess all the benefits of our general rule and control,

\* The name of a town, which is the capital of a small principality. The fanatics here alluded to, under the direction of a female who declared herself an incarnation of one of the gods, committed several murders; and while these were perpetrating, she exhibited to her superstitious followers a mirror, in which was reflected the triumph of the Rappoos and the defeat of the English.

are easily excited to a dread of our success, ultimately leading to attempts at changing the religion and institutions of their forefathers.

In cases of rebels or plunderers collecting in such force as to require British troops to suppress them, you will (if the emergency prevents reference to superior authority) make a requisition for aid from the nearest commanding officer that can furnish it.

The rules for such requisitions have been generally notified: the political agent will give the fullest information of the service to be performed, the nature of the country, the character of the enemy and his resources, leaving the military officer, when possessed of such knowledge, the selection of the force, both as to number and equipment, that is to be placed at his disposal. But it is to be strongly impressed upon both, that in a country like Central India, the means employed should always be above the object to be accomplished, as failure or defeat in any enterprise or action would be attended with very bad consequences.

It is almost superfluous to repeat what has been sedulously inculcated upon you as a primary duty during the last three years, the

adoption of every preventive measure to avert the necessity of the employment of force. Its appearance has hitherto been almost in all cases sufficient to produce the required effect; and in the few instances where it has been employed, the moment of success has been succeeded by that of conciliation. To act differently, and to pursue those wild tribes who are the common disturbers of the peace with retaliation of outrages beyond what is necessary to evince our power, is to confirm them in their habits, and to add to their other motives of hostility those of resentment and despair. When engaged in warfare with such classes, we should be cautious how we inflict summary punishment on the individuals who fall into our power. These are often the mere instruments of crime, and act in its commission under as strong an impulse of duty to their superiors as the soldier in our ranks; and it is as unreasonable to expect their habits can be changed by making examples of such men, as it would that we could subdue the spirit of a nation by putting to death every soldier belonging to it that we found fighting against us in action. The increased danger in which this placed individuals, would only strengthen that power-

ful feeling by which they were attached to their leaders, while it added that of revenge against those who treated them with what they deemed cruelty and injustice. It is the duty of all agents of the British government to direct their efforts to effect a change in the frame of these savage communities; instead of commencing, in imitation of unprincipled and despotic Native rulers, an unprofitable and interminable warfare upon individuals, who can hardly be termed guilty when they act by the express order of chiefs to whom and their predecessors they and their fathers have given implicit obedience for centuries. The nature and strength of the ties which subsist in these societies were fully discovered in the trial of Nadir Singh,\* the celebrated Bheelalah chief of the Vin-dhya range. No one has questioned the justice of his punishment; but that of the persons who committed by his order the barbarous crime for which he was exiled, would have been deemed an act of oppression.

One of the most effectual means that you have to maintain the peace, is that of exerting yourself to render all (even the poorest

\* For a particular account of this remarkable chief of robbers, vide *Memoir of Central India*, vol. I. p. 550.

and wildest classes) sensible of the benefits they derive from your protection. There is no point in which this is more required, than against the excesses of our troops, camp followers, merchants who have passes, and, in short, all who on any ground use the British name. The governments of the different presidencies have been long sensible of this evil, and have endeavoured, by the strictest orders and proclamations, to correct it. The pressing of begaries\* and hackeries† has been positively forbidden; but these orders must be enforced with a rigorous and uncompromising spirit by the civil and political authorities, otherwise they will prove unavailing. This is a point of duty in which I consider those under my orders to have no option or latitude. In the present condition of Central India, it is one of too much importance, both as it relates to the temper of the inhabitants and the reviving prosperity of the country, to warrant any deviation, either for the accommodation of individuals or the public service. The former, when no longer encouraged by improper or

\* Begaries are a class of Native of a low tribe, whose occupation is labour.

† Hackeries are a species of carts.

unwise indulgence to trust in any way to the country, will soon learn to be independent of its aid; public departments will in like degree become, from providing for their own wants, more efficient; and when the inhabitants are satisfied that it is not in the power of any person, whatever be his rank, to press them or their cattle, they will be inspired with a confidence that will lead to their furnishing more resources to troops and travellers, from a desire of profit, than has ever yet been extorted by an oppressive system; which, according to all Natives I have heard speak upon the subject, has been carried to as great, if not greater lengths, in countries subject to our rule and control, than in the worst of their own governments.

There are, I fear, many omissions in these notes of Instructions; but an anxiety to render them complete has already made them far longer than was at first intended. One of my chief objects has been to impress, in the most forcible manner, the great benefits which are to be expected from a kind and conciliating manner, and a constant friendly intercourse with those under your direction and control. It is the feelings and know-

ledge which such habits on your part will inspire, that can alone give effect to the principles of action that have been prescribed for your observance. You are called upon to perform no easy task : to possess power, but seldom to exercise it ; to witness abuses which you think you could correct ; to see the errors, if not crimes, of superstitious bigotry, and the miseries of misrule, and yet forbear, lest you injure interests far greater than any within the sphere of your limited duties, and impede and embarrass, by a rash change and innovation that may bring local benefit, the slow but certain march of general improvement. Nothing can keep you right on all these points but constant efforts to add to your knowledge, and accustoming your mind (as I have before urged you) to dwell upon the character of the British power in India, and that of the empire over which it is established. The latter, comprehending numerous tribes and nations, with all their various institutions and governments, may truly, though metaphorically, be viewed as a vast and ancient fabric, neither without shape nor beauty, but of which many parts are in a dilapidated state, and all more or less soiled or decayed ;

still it is a whole, and connected in all its parts; the foundations are deep-laid, and to the very summit arch rests upon arch. We are now its possessors; and if we desire to preserve, while we improve it, we must make ourselves completely masters of the frame of the structure to its minutest ornaments and defects: nor must we remove the smallest stone till another is ready, suited to fill the vacant niche, otherwise we may inadvertently bring a ruin on our own heads, and those of others, on the spot where we too eagerly sought to erect a monument of glory.

JOHN MALCOLM.

*Camp Dhooliah,*  
28th June, 1821.

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**EXTRACT**

**OF A**

**LETTER TO THE EDITOR.**



## EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM GENEVA.

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“I breathe freely in the neighbourhood of this lake ; the ground upon which I tread has been subdued from the earliest ages ; the principal objects which immediately strike my eye, bring to my recollection scenes, in which man acted the hero and was the chief object of interest. Not to look back to earlier times of battles and sieges, here is the bust of Rousseau—here is a house with an inscription denoting that the Genevan philosopher first drew breath under its roof. A little out of the town is Ferney, the residence of Voltaire ; where that wonderful, though certainly in many respects contemptible, character, received, like the hermits of old, the visits of pilgrims, not only from his own nation, but from the farthest boundaries of Europe.

viii *Extract of a Letter from Geneva.*

Here too is Bonnet's abode, and, a few steps beyond, the house of that astonishing woman **Madame de Stael**: perhaps the first of her sex, who has really proved its often claimed equality with the nobler man. We have before had women who have written interesting novels and poems, in which their tact at observing drawing-room characters has availed them; but never since the days of **Heloise** have those faculties which are peculiar to man, been developed as the possible inheritance of woman. Though even here, as in the case of **Heloise**, our sex have not been backward in alledging the existence of an **Abeilard** in the person of **M. Schlegel** as the inspirer of her works. But to proceed: upon the same side of the lake, **Gibbon**, **Bonnivard**, **Bradshaw**, and others mark, as it were, the stages for our progress; whilst upon the other side, there is one house, built by **Diodati**, the friend of **Milton**, which has contained within its walls, for several months, that poet whom we have so often read together, and who—if human passions remain the same, and human feelings,

*Extract of a Letter from Geneva.* ix

like chords, on being swept by nature's impulses shall vibrate as before---will be placed by posterity in the first rank of our English Poets. You must have heard, or the Third Canto of Childe Harold will have informed you, that Lord Byron resided many months in this neighbourhood. I went with some friends a few days ago, after having seen Ferney, to view this mansion. I trod the floors with the same feelings of awe and respect as we did, together, those of Shakespeare's dwelling at Stratford. I sat down in a chair of the saloon, and satisfied myself that I was resting on what he had made his constant seat. I found a servant there who had lived with him; she, however, gave me but little information. She pointed out his bed-chamber upon the same level as the saloon, and dining-room, and informed me that he retired to rest at three, got up at two, and employed himself a long time over his toilette; that he never went to sleep without a pair of pistols and a dagger by his side, and that he never eat animal food. He apparently

x     *Extract of a Letter from Genève.*

spent some part of every day upon the lake in an English boat. There is a balcony from the saloon which looks upon the lake and the mountain Jura ; and I imagine, that it must have been hence, he contemplated the storm so magnificently described in the Third Canto ; for you have from here a most extensive view of all the points he has therein depicted. I can fancy him like the scathed pine, whilst all around was sunk to repose, still waking to observe, what gave but a weak image of the storms which had desolated his own breast.

The sky is changed !—and such a change ; Oh, night !  
And storm and darkness, ye are wond'rous strong, •  
Yet lovely in your strength, as is the light  
Of a dark eye in woman ! Far along  
From peak to peak, the rattling crags among,  
Leaps the live thunder ! Not from one lone cloud, •  
But every mountain now hath found a tongue,  
And Jura answers thro' her misty shroud,  
Back to the joyous Alps who call to her aloud !

And this is in the night : —Most glorious night !  
Thou wer't not sent for slumber ! let me be  
A sharer in thy far and fierce delight,—

*Extract of a Letter from Geneva.*      xi

A portion of the tempest and of me!  
How the lit lake shines a phosphoric sea,  
And the big rain comes dancing to the earth!  
And now again 'tis black,—and now the glee  
Of the loud hills shakes with its mountain mirth,  
As if they did rejoice o'er a young earthquake's birth,  
Now where the swift Rhine cleaves his way between  
Heights which appear, as lovers who have parted  
In haste, whose mining depths so intervene,  
That they can meet no more, tho' broken hearted;  
Tho' in their souls which thus each other thwarted,  
Love was the very root of the fond rage  
Which blighted their life's bloom, and then departed—  
Itself expired, but leaving them an age  
Of years all winter—war within themselves to wage.

I went down to the little port, if I may use the expression, wherein his vessel used to lay, and conversed with the cottager, who had the care of it. You may smile, but I have my pleasure in thus helping my personification of the individual I admire, by attaining to the knowledge of those circumstances which were daily around him. I have made numerous enquiries in the town concerning him, but can learn nothing. He only went into society there once, when M. Pictet took him



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to the house of a lady to spend the evening. They say he is a very singular man, and seem to think him very uncivil. Amongst other things they relate, that having invited M. Pictet and Bonstetten to dinner, he went on the lake to Chillon, leaving a gentleman who travelled with him to receive them and make his apologies. Another evening, being invited to the house of Lady D----- H-----, he promised to attend, but upon approaching the windows of her ladyship's villa, and perceiving the room to be full of company, he set down his friend, desiring him to plead his excuse, and immediately returned home. This will serve as a contradiction to the report which you tell me is current in England, of his having been avoided by his countrymen on the continent. The case happens to be directly the reverse, as he has been generally sought by them, though on most occasions, apparently without success. It is said, indeed, that upon paying his first visit at Coppet, following the servant who had announced his

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name, he was surprised to meet a lady carried out fainting ; but before he had been seated many minutes, the same lady, who had been so affected at the sound of his name, returned and conversed with him a considerable time--- such is female curiosity and affectation ! He visited Coppet frequently, and of course associated there with several of his countrymen, who evincèd no reluctance to meet him whom his enemies alone would represent as an out-cast.

Though I have been so unsuccessful in this town, I have been more fortunate in my enquiries elsewhere. There is a society three or four miles from Geneva, the centre of which is the Countess of Breuss, a Russian lady, well acquainted with the *agrémens de la Société*, and who has collected them round herself at her mansion. It was chiefly here, I find, that the gentleman who travelled with Lord Byron, as physician, sought for society. He used almost every day to cross the lake by himself, in one of their flat-bottomed boats, and return after passing the evening with

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his friends, about eleven or twelve at night, often whilst the storms were raging in the circling summits of the mountains around. As he became intimate, from long acquaintance, with several of the families in this neighbourhood, I have gathered from their accounts some excellent traits of his lordship's character, which I will relate to you at some future opportunity. I must, however, free him from one imputation attached to him---of having in his house two sisters as the partakers of his revels. This is, like many other charges which have been brought against his lordship, entirely destitute of truth. His only companion was the physician I have already mentioned. The report originated from the following circumstance: Mr. Percy Bysshe Shelly, a gentleman well known for extravagance of doctrine, and for his daring, in their profession, even to sign himself with the title of *Atëos* in the Album at Chamouny, having taken a house below, in which he resided with Miss M. W. Godwin and Miss Clermont, (the daughters of the celebrated

Mr. Godwin) they were frequently visitors at Diodati, and were often seen upon the lake with his Lordship, which gave rise to the report, the truth of which is here positively denied.

Among other things which the lady, from whom I procured these anecdotes, related to me, she mentioned the outline of a ghost story by Lord Byron. It appears that one evening Lord B., Mr. P. B. Shelly, the two ladies and the gentleman before alluded to, after having perused a German work, which was entitled *Phantasmagoriana*, began relating ghost stories; when his Lordship having recited the beginning of *Christabel*, then unpublished, the whole took so strong a hold of Mr. Shelly's mind, that he suddenly started up and ran out of the room. The physician and Lord Byron followed, and discovered him leaning against a mantle-piece, with cold drops of perspiration trickling down his face. After having given him something to refresh him, upon enquiring into the cause of his alarm, they found that his wild imagination

having pictured to him the bosom of one of the ladies with eyes (which was reported of a lady in the neighbourhood where he lived) he was obliged to leave the room in order to destroy the impression. It was afterwards proposed, in the course of conversation, that each of the company present should write a tale depending upon some supernatural agency, which was undertaken by Lord B., the physician, and Miss M. W. Godwin.\* My friend, the lady above referred to, had in her possession the outline of each of these stories; I obtained them as a great favour, and herewith forward them to you, as I was assured you would feel as much curiosity as myself, to peruse the *ebauches* of so great a genius, and those immediately under his influence."

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\* Since published under the title of "Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus."

## **THE VAMPYRE.**



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE superstition upon which this tale is founded is very general in the East. Among the Arabians it appears to be common : it did not, however, extend itself to the Greeks until after the establishment of Christianity ; and it has only assumed its present form since the division of the Latin and Greek churches ; at which time, the idea becoming prevalent, that a Latin body could not corrupt if buried in their territory, it gradually increased, and formed the subject of many wonderful stories, still extant, of the dead rising from their graves, and feeding upon the blood of the young and beautiful. In the West it spread, with some slight variation, all over Hungary, Poland, Austria, and Lorraine, where the



belief existed, that vampyres nightly imbibed a certain portion of the blood of their victims, who became emaciated, lost their strength, and speedily died of consumptions ; whilst these human blood-suckers fattened --- and their veins became distended to such a state of repletion, as to cause the blood to flow from all the passages of their bodies, and even from the very pores of their skins.

In the London Journal, of March, 1782, is a curious, and, of course, *credible* account of a particular case of vampyrism, which is stated to have occurred at Madreyga, in Hungary. It appears, that upon an examination of the commander-in-chief and magistrates of the place, they positively and unanimously affirmed, that, about five years before, a certain Heyduke, named Arnold Paul, had been heard to say, that, at Cassovia, on the frontiers of the Turkish Servia, he had been tormented by a vampyre, but had found a way to rid himself of the evil, by eating some of the earth out of the vampyre's grave, and rubbing himself with his blood. This precaution,

however, did not prevent him from becoming a vampyre \* himself; for, about twenty or thirty days after his death and burial, many persons complained of having been tormented by him, and a deposition was made, that four persons had been deprived of life by his attacks. To prevent further mischief, the inhabitants having consulted their Hadagni,† took up the body, and found it (as is supposed to be usual in cases of vampyrism) fresh, and entirely free from corruption, and emitting at the mouth, nose, and ears, pure and florid blood. Proof having been thus obtained, they resorted to the accustomed remedy. A stake was driven entirely through the heart and body of Arnold Paul, at which he is reported to have cried out as dreadfully as if he had been alive. This done, they cut off his head, burned his body, and threw the ashes into his grave. The same measures were adopted with the

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\* The universal belief is, that a person sucked by a vampyre becomes a vampyre himself, and sucks in his turn.

† Chief bailiff.

corse of those persons who had previously died from vampyrism, lest they should, in their turn, become agents upon others who survived them.

This monstrous rodomontade is here related, because it seems better adapted to illustrate the subject of the present observations than any other instance which could be adduced. In many parts of Greece it is considered as a sort of punishment after death, for some heinous crime committed whilst in existence, that the deceased is not only doomed to vampyrise, but compelled to confine his infernal visitations solely to those beings he loved most while upon earth—those to whom he was bound by ties of kindred and affection. ---A supposition alluded to in the “Giaour.”

But first on earth, as Vampyre sent,  
Thy corse shall from its tomb be rent;  
Then ghastly haunt the native place,  
And suck the blood of all thy race;  
There from thy daughter, sister, wife,  
At midnight drain the stream of life;  
Yet louthe the banquet which perforce  
Must feed thy livid living corse,

Thy victims, ere they yet expire,  
 Shall know the demon for their sire;  
 As cursing thee, thou cursing them,  
 Thy flowers are withered on the stem.  
 But one that for *thy crime* must fall,  
 The youngest, best beloved of all,  
 Shall bless thee with a *father's* name—  
 That word shall wrap thy heart in flame!  
 Yet thou must end thy task and mark  
 Her cheek's last tinge her eye's last spark,  
 And the last glassy glance must view  
 Which freezes o'er its lifeless blue;  
 Then with unhallowed hand shall tear  
 The tresses of her yellow hair,  
 Of which, in life a lock when shorn  
 Affection's fondest pledge was worn—  
 But now is borne away by thee  
 Memorial of thine agony!  
 Yet with thine own best blood shall drip;  
 Thy gnashing tooth, and haggard lip;  
 Then stalking to thy sullen grave,  
 Go—and with Gouls and Afrits rave,  
 Till these in horror shrink away  
 From spectre more accursed than they.

Mr. Southey has also introduced in his wild  
 but beautiful poem of "Thalaba," the vam-  
 pyre corse of the Arabian maid Oneiza, who

is represented as having returned from the grave for the purpose of tormenting him she best loved whilst in existence. But this cannot be supposed to have resulted from the sinfulness of her life, she being portrayed throughout the whole of the tale as a complete type of purity and innocence. The veracious Tournefort gives a long account in his travels of several astonishing cases of vampyrism, to which he pretends to have been an eye-witness ; and Calmet, in his great work upon this subject, besides a variety of anecdotes, and traditionary narratives illustrative of its effects, has put forth some learned dissertations, tending to prove it to be a classical, as well as barbarian error.

Many curious and interesting notices on this singularly horrible superstition might be added ; though the present may suffice for the limits of a note, necessarily devoted to explanation, and which may now be concluded by merely remarking, that though the term Vampyre is the one in most general acceptance,

there are several others synonymous with it, made use of in various parts of the world: as Vroucolocha, Vardoulacha, Goul, Broucoloka, &c.



## THE VAMPYRE.



IT happened that in the midst of the dissipation attendant upon a London winter, there appeared at the various parties of the leaders of the *ton* a nobleman, more remarkable for his singularities, than his rank. He gazed upon the mirth around him, as if he could not participate therein. Apparently, the light laughter of the fair only attracted his attention, that he might by a look quell it, and throw fear into those breasts where thoughtlessness reigned. Those who felt this sensation of awe, could not explain whence it arose : some attributed it to the dead grey eye, which, fix-



ing upon the object's face, did not seem to penetrate, and at one glance to pierce through to the inward workings of the heart ; but fell upon the cheek with a leaden ray that weighed upon the skin it could not pass. His peculiarities caused him to be invited to every house ; all wished to see him, and those who had been accustomed to violent excitement, and now felt the weight of *ennui*, were pleased at having something in their presence capable of engaging their attention. In spite of the deadly hue of his face, which never gained a warmer tint, either from the blush of modesty, or from the strong emotion of passion, though its form and outline were beautiful, many of the female hunters after notoriety attempted to win his attentions, and gain, at least, some marks of what they might term affection : Lady Mercer, who had been the mockery of every monster shewn in drawing-rooms since her marriage, threw herself in his way, and did all but put on the dress of a mountebank, to attract his notice : --- though in vain : --- when she stood before him, though his eyes were ap-

parently fixed upon her's, still it seemed as if they were unperceived;---even her unappalled impudence was baffled, and she left the field. But though the common adultress could not influence even the guidance of his eyes, it was not that the female sex was indifferent to him : yet such was the apparent caution with which he spoke to the virtuous wife and innocent daughter, that few knew he ever addressed himself to females. He had, however, the reputation of a winning tongue ; and whether it was that it even overcame the dread of his singular character, or that they were moved by his apparent hatred of vice, he was as often among those females who form the boast of their sex from their domestic virtues, as among those who sully it by their vices.

About the same time, there came to London a young gentleman of the name of Aubrey : he was an orphan left with an only sister in the possession of great wealth, by parents who died while he was yet in childhood. Left also to himself by guardians, who thought it their duty merely to take care of his fortune,

while they relinquished the more important charge of his mind to the care of mercenary subalterns, he cultivated more his imagination than his judgment. He had, hence, that high romantic feeling of honour and candour, which daily ruins so many milliners' apprentices. He believed all to sympathise with virtue, and thought that vice was thrown in by Providence merely for the picturesque effect of the scene, as we see in romances : he thought that the misery of a cottage merely consisted in the vesting of clothes, which were as warm, but which were better adapted to the painter's eye by their irregular folds and various coloured patches. He thought, in fine, that the dreams of poets were the realities of life. He was handsome, frank, and rich : for these reasons, upon his entering into the gay circles, many mothers surrounded him, striving which should describe with least truth their languishing or romping favourites : the daughters at the same time, by their brightening countenances when he approached, and by their sparkling eyes, when he opened his lips, soon led him into false notions of his

talents and his merit. Attached as he was to the romance of his solitary hours, he was startled at finding, that, except in the tallow and wax candles that flickered, not from the presence of a ghost, but from want of snuffing, there was no foundation in real life for any of that congeries of pleasing pictures and descriptions contained in those volumes, from which he had formed his study. Finding, however, some compensation in his gratified vanity, he was about to relinquish his dreams, when the extraordinary being we have above described, crossed him in his career.

He watched him ; and the very impossibility of forming an idea of the character of a man entirely absorbed in himself, who gave few other signs of his observation of external objects, than the tacit assent to their existence, implied by the avoidance of their contact : allowing his imagination to picture every thing that flattered its propensity to extravagant ideas, he soon formed this object into the hero of a romance, and determined to observe the offspring of his fancy, rather than the person

before him. He became acquainted with him, paid him attentions, and so far advanced upon his notice, that his presence was always recognised. He gradually learnt that Lord Ruthven's affairs were embarrassed, and soon found, from the notes of preparation in ——— Street, that he was about to travel. Desirous of gaining some information respecting this singular character, who, till now, had only whetted his curiosity, he hinted to his guardians, that it was time for him to perform the tour, which for many generations has been thought necessary to enable the young to take some rapid steps in the career of vice towards putting themselves upon an equality with the aged, and not allowing them to appear as if fallen from the skies, whenever scandalous intrigues are mentioned as the subjects of pleasantry or of praise, according to the degree of skill shewn in carrying them on. They consented: and Aubrey immediately mentioning his intentions to Lord Ruthven, was surprised to receive from him a proposal to join him. Flattered by such a mark of

esteem from him, who, apparently, had nothing in common with other men, he gladly accepted it, and in a few days they had passed the circling waters.

Hitherto, Aubrey had had no opportunity of studying Lord Ruthven's character, and now he found, that, though many more of his actions were exposed to his view, the results offered different conclusions from the apparent motives to his conduct. His companion was profuse in his liberality ;---the idle, the vagabond, and the beggar, received from his hand more than enough to relieve their immediate wants. But Aubrey could not avoid remarking, that it was not upon the virtuous, reduced to indigence by the misfortunes attendant even upon virtue, that he bestowed his alms ;---these were sent from the door with hardly suppressed sneers ; but when the profligate came to ask something, not to relieve his wants, but to allow him to wallow in his lust, or to sink him still deeper in his iniquity, he was sent away with rich charity. This was, however, attributed by him to the greater importunity of

the vicious, which generally prevails over the retiring bashfulness of the virtuous indigent. There was one circumstance about the charity of his Lordship, which was still more impressed upon his mind : all those upon whom it was bestowed, inevitably found that there was a curse upon it, for they were all either led to the scaffold, or sunk to the lowest and the most abject misery. At Brussels and other towns through which they passed, Aubrey was surprized at the apparent eagerness with which his companion sought for the centres of all fashionable vice ; there he entered into all the spirit of the faro table : he betted, and always gambled with success, except where the known sharper was his antagonist, and then he lost even more than he gained ; but it was always with the same unchanging face, with which he generally watched the society around : it was not, however, so when he encountered the rash youthful novice, or the luckless father of a numerous family ; then his very wish seemed fortune's law---this apparent abstractedness of mind was laid aside, and his

eyes sparkled with more fire than that of the cat whilst dallying with the half-dead mouse. In every town, he left the formerly affluent youth, torn from the circle he adorned, cursing, in the solitude of a dungeon, the fate that had drawn him within the reach of this fiend ; whilst many a father sat frantic, amidst the speaking looks of mute hungry children, without a single farthing of his late immense wealth, wherewith to buy even sufficient to satisfy their present craving. Yet he took no money from the gambling table ; but immediately lost, to the ruiner of many, the last gilder he had just snatched from the convulsive grasp of the innocent : this might but be the result of a certain degree of knowledge, which was not, however, capable of combating the cunning of the more experienced. Aubrey often wished to represent this to his friend, and beg him to resign that charity and pleasure which proved the ruin of all, and did not tend to his own profit ;---but he delayed it---for each day he hoped his friend would give him some opportunity of speaking frankly and openly



to him ; however, this never occurred. Lord Ruthven in his carriage, and amidst the various wild and rich scenes of nature, was always the same : his eye spoke less than his lip ; and though Aubrey was near the object of his curiosity, he obtained no greater gratification from it than the constant excitement of vainly wishing to break that mystery, which to his exalted imagination began to assume the appearance of something supernatural.

They soon arrived at Rome, and Aubrey for a time lost sight of his companion ; he left him in daily attendance upon the morning circle of an Italian countess, whilst he went in search of the memorials of another almost deserted city. Whilst he was thus engaged, letters arrived from England, which he opened with eager impatience ; the first was from his sister, breathing nothing but affection ; the others were from his guardians, the latter astonished him ; if it had before entered into his imagination that there was an evil power resident in his companion, these seemed to give him almost sufficient reason for the belief. His

guardians insisted upon his immediately leaving his friend, and urged, that his character was dreadfully vicious, for that the possession of irresistible powers of seduction, rendered his licentious habits more dangerous to society. It had been discovered, that his contempt for the adulteress had not originated in hatred of her character ; but that he had required, to enhance his gratification, that his victim, the partner of his guilt, should be hurled from the pinnacle of unsullied virtue, down to the lowest abyss of infamy and degradation : in fine, that all those females whom he had sought, apparently on account of their virtue, had, since his departure, thrown even the mask aside, and had not scrupled to expose the whole deformity of their vices to the public gaze.

Aubrey determined upon leaving one, whose character had not yet shown a single bright point on which to rest the eye. He resolved to invent some plausible pretext for abandoning him altogether, purposing, in the meanwhile, to watch him more closely, and to

let no slight circumstances pass by unnoticed. He entered into the same circle, and soon perceived, that his Lordship was endeavouring to work upon the inexperience of the daughter of the lady whose house he chiefly frequented. In Italy, it 'is seldom that an unmarried female is met with in society ; he was therefore obliged to carry on his plans in secret ; but Aubrey's eye followed him in all his windings, and soon discovered that an assignation had been appointed, which would most likely end in the ruin of an innocent, though thoughtless girl. Losing no time, he entered the apartment of Lord Ruthven, and abruptly asked him his intentions with respect to the lady, informing him at the same time that he was aware of his being about to meet her that very night. Lord Ruthven answered, that his intentions were such as he supposed all would have upon such an occasion ; and upon being pressed whether he intended to marry her, merely laughed. Aubrey retired ; and, immediately writing a note, to say, that from that moment

he must decline accompanying his Lordship in the remainder of their proposed tour, he ordered his servant to seek other apartments, and calling upon the mother of the lady, informed her of all he knew, not only with regard to her daughter, but also concerning the character of his Lordship. The assignation was prevented. Lord Ruthven next day merely sent his servant to notify his complete assent to a separation ; but did not hint any suspicion of his plans having been foiled by Aubrey's interposition.

Having left Rome, Aubrey directed his steps towards Greece, and crossing the Peninsula, soon found himself at Athens. He then fixed his residence in the house of a Greek ; and soon occupied himself in tracing the faded records of ancient glory upon monuments that apparently, ashamed of chronicling the deeds of freemen only before slaves, had hidden themselves beneath the sheltering soil or many coloured lichen. Under the same roof as himself, existed a being, so beautiful and delicate, that she might have formed the

model for a painter, wishing to pourtray on canvass the promised hope of the faithful in Mahomet's paradise, save that her eyes spoke too much mind for any one to think she could belong to those who had no souls. As she danced upon the plain, or tripped along the mountain's side, one would have thought the gazelle a poor type of her beauties ; for who would have exchanged her eye, apparently the eye of animated nature, for that sleepy luxurious look of the animal suited but to the taste of an epicure. The light step of Ianthe often accompanied Aubrey in his search after antiquities, and often would the unconscious girl, engaged in the pursuit of a Kashmere butterfly, show the whole beauty of her form, floating as it were upon the wind, to the eager gaze of him, who forgot the letters he had just decyphered upon an almost effaced tablet, in the contemplation of her sylph-like figure. Often would her tresses falling, as she flitted around, exhibit in the sun's ray such delicately brilliant and swiftly fading hues, as might well excuse the forgetfulness of the

antiquary, who let escape from his mind the very object he had before thought of vital importance to the proper interpretation of a passage in Pausanias. But why attempt to describe charms which all feel, but none can appreciate ?---It was innocence, youth, and beauty, unaffected by crowded drawing-rooms and stifling balls. Whilst he drew those remains of which he wished to preserve a memorial for his future hours, she would stand by, and watch the magic effects of his pencil, in tracing the scenes of her native place ; she would then describe to him the circling dance upon the open plain, would paint to him in all the glowing colours of youthful memory, the marriage pomp she remembered viewing in her infancy ; and then, turning to subjects that had evidently made a greater impression upon her mind, would tell him all the supernatural tales of her nurse. Her earnestness and apparent belief of what she narrated, excited the interest even of Aubrey ; and often as she told him the tale of the living vampire, who

had passed years amidst his friends, and dearest ties, forced every year, by feeding upon the life of a lovely female to prolong his existence for the ensuing months, his blood would run cold, whilst he attempted to laugh her out of such idle and horrible fantasies ; but Ianthe cited to him the names of old men, who had at last detected one living among themselves, after several of their near relatives and children had been found marked with the stamp of the fiend's appetite ; and when she found him so incredulous, she begged of him to believe her, for it had been remarked, that those who had dared to question their existence, always had some proof given, which obliged them, with grief and heartbreaking, to confess it was true. She detailed to him the traditional appearance of these monsters, and his horror was increased, by hearing a pretty accurate description of Lord Ruthven ; he, however, still persisted in persuading her, that there could be no truth in her fears, though at the same time he wondered at the many coinci-

dences which had all tended to excite a belief in the supernatural power of Lord Ruthven.

Aubrey began to attach himself more and more to Ianthe ; her innocence, so contrasted with all the affected virtues of the women among whom he had sought for his vision of romance, won his heart ; and while he ridiculed the idea of a young man of English habits, marrying an uneducated Greek girl, still he found himself more and more attached to the almost fairy form before him. He would tear himself at times from her, and, forming a plan for some antiquarian research, he would depart, determined not to return until his object was attained ; but he always found it impossible to fix his attention upon the ruins around him, whilst in his mind he retained an image that seemed alone the rightful possessor of his thoughts. Ianthe was unconscious of his love, and was ever the same frank infantile being he had first known. She always seemed to part from him with reluctance ; but it was because



she had no longer any one with whom she could visit her favourite haunts, whilst her guardian was occupied in sketching or uncovering some fragment which had yet escaped the destructive hand of time. She had appealed to her parents on the subject of Vampyres, and they both, with several present, affirmed their existence, 'pale with horror at the very name. Soon after, Aubrey determined to proceed upon one of his excursions, which was to detain him for a few hours ; when they heard the name of the place, they all at once begged of him not to return at night, as he must necessarily pass through a wood, where no Greek would ever remain, after the day had closed, upon any consideration. They described it as the resort of the vampyres in their nocturnal orgies, and denounced the most heavy evils as impending upon him who dared to cross their path. Aubrey made light of their representations, and tried to laugh them out of the idea ; but when he saw them shudder at his daring thus to mock a superior, infernal power, the

very name of which apparently made their blood freeze, he was silent.

Next morning Aubrey set off upon his excursion unattended; he was surprised to observe the melancholy face of his host, and was concerned to find that his words, mocking the belief of those horrible fiends, had inspired them with such terror. When he was about to depart, Ianthe came to the side of his horse, and earnestly begged of him to return, ere night allowed the power of these beings to be put in action;---he promised. He was, however, so occupied in his research, that he did not perceive that day-light would soon end, and that in the horizon there was one of those specks which, in the warmer climates, so rapidly gather into a tremendous mass, and pour all their rage upon the devoted country. ---He at last, however, mounted his horse, determined to make up by speed for his delay: but it was too late. Twilight, in these southern climates, is almost unknown; immediately the sun sets, night begins: and ere he had advanced far, the power of the storm was above

---its echoing thunders had scarcely an interval of rest---its thick heavy rain forced its way through the canopying foliage, whilst the blue forked lightning seemed to fall and radiate at his very feet. Suddenly his horse took fright, and he was carried with dreadful rapidity through the entangled forest. The animal at last, through fatigue, stopped, and he found, by the glare of lightning, that he was in the neighbourhood of a hovel that hardly lifted itself up from the masses of dead leaves and brushwood which surrounded it. Dismounting, he approached, hoping to find some one to guide him to the town, or at least trusting to obtain shelter from the pelting of the storm. As he approached, the thunders, for a moment silent, allowed him to hear the dreadful shrieks of a woman mingling with the stifled, exultant mockery of a laugh, continued in one almost unbroken sound;---he was startled: but, roused by the thunder which again rolled over his head, he, with a sudden effort, forced open the door of the hut. He found himself in utter darkness: the sound, however, guided

him. He was apparently unperceived ; for, though he called, still the sounds continued, and no notice was taken of him. He found himself in contact with some one, whom he immediately seized ; when a voice cried, “ Again baffled ! ” to which a loud laugh succeeded ; and he felt himself grappled by one whose strength seemed superhuman : determined to sell his life as dearly as he could, he struggled ; but it was in vain : he was lifted from his feet and hurled with enormous force against the ground : ---his enemy threw himself upon him, and kneeling upon his breast, had placed his hands upon his throat --- when the glare of many torches penetrating through the hole that gave light in the day, disturbed him ; ---he instantly rose, and, leaving his prey, rushed through the door, and in a moment the crashing of the branches, as he broke through the wood, was no longer heard. The storm was now still ; and Aubréy, incapable of moving, was soon heard by those without. They entered ; the light of their torches fell upon the mud walls, and the thatch loaded on every individual straw

with heavy flakes of soot. At the desire of Aubrey they searched for her who had attracted him by her cries ; he was again left in darkness ; but what was his horror, when the light of the torches once more burst upon him, to perceive the airy form of his fair conductress brought in a lifeless corse. He shut his eyes, hoping that it was but a vision arising from his disturbed imagination ; but he again saw the same form, when he unclosed them, stretched by his side. There was no colour upon her cheek, not even upon her lip ; yet there was a stillness about her face that seemed almost as attaching as the life that once dwelt there :--- upon her neck and breast was blood, and upon her throat were the marks of teeth having opened the vein :---to this the men pointed, crying, simultaneously struck with horror, “ A Vampyre! a Vampyre!” A litter was quickly formed, and Aubrey was laid by the side of her who had lately been to him the object of so many bright and fairy visions, now fallen with the flower of life that had died within her. He knew not what his thoughts were---his mind

was benumbed and seemed to shun reflection, and take refuge in vacancy---he held almost unconsciously in his hand a naked dagger of a particular construction, which had been found in the hut. They were soon met by different parties who had been engaged in the search of her whom a mother had missed. Their lamentable cries, as they approached the city, forewarned the parents of some dreadful catastrophe.---To describe their grief would be impossible ; but when they ascertained the cause of their child's death, they looked at Aubrey, and pointed to the corse. They were inconsolable ; both died broken-hearted.

Aubrey being put to bed was seized with a most violent fever, and was often delirious ; in these intervals he would call upon Lord Ruthven and upon Ianthe---by some unaccountable combination he seemed to beg of his former companion to spare the being he loved. At other times he would imprecate maledictions upon his head, and curse him as her destroyer. Lord Ruthven chanced at this time to arrive at Athens, and, from whatever motive, upon

hearing of the state of Aubrey, immediately placed himself in the same house, and became his constant attendant. When the latter recovered from his delirium, he was horrified and startled at the sight of him whose image he had now combined with that of a Vampyre ; but Lord Ruthven, by his kind words, implying almost repentance for the fault that had caused their separation, and still more by the attention, anxiety, and care which he showed, soon reconciled him to his presence. His lordship seemed quite changed ; he no longer appeared that apathetic being who had so astonished Aubrey ; but as soon as his convalescence began to be rapid, he again gradually retired into the same state of mind, and Aubrey perceived no difference from the former man, except that at times he was surprised to meet his gaze fixed intently upon him, with a smile of malicious exultation playing upon his lips : he knew not why, but this smile haunted him. During the last stage of the invalid's recovery, Lord Ruthven was apparently engaged in watching the tideless waves raised by the

cooling breeze, or in marking the progress of those orbs, circling, like our world, the moveless sun ;---indeed, he appeared to wish to avoid the eyes of all.

Aubrey's mind, by this shock, was much weakened, and that elasticity of spirit which had once so distinguished him now seemed to have fled for ever. He was now as much a lover of solitude and silence as Lord Ruthven ; but much as he wished for solitude, his mind could not find it in the neighbourhood of Athens ; if he sought it amidst the ruins he had formerly frequented, Ianthe's form stood by his side---if he sought it in the woods, her light step would appear wandering amidst the underwood, in quest of the modest violet ; then suddenly turning round, would show, to his wild imagination, her pale face and wounded throat, with a meek smile upon her lips. He determined to fly scenes, every feature of which created such bitter associations in his mind. He proposed to Lord Ruthven, to whom he held himself bound by the tender care he had taken of him during his illness, that they should



visit those parts of Greece neither had yet seen. They travelled in every direction, and sought every spot to which a recollection could be attached: but though they thus hastened from place to place, yet they seemed not to heed what they gazed upon. They heard much of robbers, but they gradually began to slight these reports, which they imagined were only the invention of individuals, whose interest it was to excite the generosity of those whom they defended from pretended dangers. In consequence of thus neglecting the advice of the inhabitants, on one occasion they travelled with only a few guards, more to serve as guides than as a defence. Upon entering, however, a narrow defile, at the bottom of which was the bed of a torrent, with large masses of rock brought down from the neighbouring precipices, they had reason to repent their negligence; for scarcely were the whole of the party engaged in the narrow pass, when they were startled by the whistling of bullets close to their heads, and by the echoed report of several guns. In an instant their guards

had left them, and, placing themselves behind rocks, had begun to fire in the direction whence the report came. Lord Ruthven and Aubrey, imitating their example, retired for a moment behind the sheltering turn of the defile: but ashamed of being thus detained by a foe, who with insulting shouts bade them advance, and being exposed to unresisting slaughter, if any of the robbers should climb above and take them in the rear, they determined at once to rush forward in search of the enemy. Hardly had they lost the shelter of the rock, when Lord Ruthven received a shot in the shoulder, which brought him to the ground. Aubrey hastened to his assistance; and, no longer heeding the contest or his own peril, was soon surprised by seeing the robbers' faces around him---his guards having, upon Lord Ruthven's being wounded, immediately thrown up their arms and surrendered.

By promises of great reward, Aubrey soon induced them to convey his wounded friend to a neighbouring cabin; and having agreed upon a ransom, he was no more disturbed by

their presence---they being content merely to guard the entrance till their comrade should return with the promised sum, for which he had an order. Lord Ruthven's strength rapidly decreased; in two days mortification ensued, and death seemed advancing with hasty steps. His conduct and appearance had not changed; he seemed as unconscious of pain as he had been of the objects about him: but towards the close of the last evening, his mind became apparently uneasy, and his eye often fixed upon Aubrey, who was induced to offer his assistance with more than usual earnestness---“ Assist me! you may save me---you may do more than that---I mean not my life, I heed the death of my existence as little as that of the passing day; but you may save my honour, your friend's honour.”---“ How? tell me how? I would do any thing,” replied Aubrey.---“ I need but little---my life ebbs apace---I cannot explain the whole---but if you would conceal all you know of me, my honour were free from stain in the world's mouth---and if my death were unknown for some time in England---I

---I---but life."---"It shall not be known."---  
"Swear!" cried the dying man, raising himself with exultant violence, "Swear by all your soul reveres, by all your nature fears, swear that for a year and a day you will not impart your knowledge of my crimes or death to any living being in any way, whatever may happen, or whatever you may see."---His eyes seemed bursting from their sockets: "I swear!" said Aubrey; he sunk laughing upon his pillow, and breathed no more.

Aubrey retired to rest, but did not sleep; the many circumstances attending his acquaintance with this man rose upon his mind, and he knew not why; when he remembered his oath a cold shivering came over him, as if from the presentiment of something horrible awaiting him. Rising early in the morning, he was about to enter the hovel in which he had left the corpse, when a robber met him, and informed him that it was no longer there, having been conveyed by himself and comrades, upon his retiring, to the pinnacle of a neighbouring mount, according to a promise

they had given his lordship, that it should be exposed to the first cold ray of the moon that rose after his death. Aubrey astonished, and taking several of the men, determined to go and bury it upon the spot where it lay. But, when he had mounted to the summit he found no trace of either the corpse or the clothes, though the robbers swore they pointed out the identical rock on which they had laid the body. For a time his mind was bewildered in conjectures, but he at last returned, convinced that they had buried the corpse for the sake of the clothes.

Weary of a country in which he had met with such terrible misfortunes, and in which all apparently conspired to heighten that superstitious melancholy that had seized upon his mind, he resolved to leave it, and soon arrived at Smyrna. While waiting for a vessel to convey him to Otranto, or to Naples, he occupied himself in arranging those effects he had with him belonging to Lord Ruthven. Amongst other things there was a case containing several weapons of offence, more or

less adapted to ensure the death of the victim. There were several daggers and ataghans. Whilst turning them over, and examining their curious forms, what was his surprise at finding a sheath apparently ornamented in the same style as the dagger discovered in the fatal hut---he shuddered---hastening to gain further proof, he found the weapon, and his horror may be imagined when he discovered that it fitted, though peculiarly shaped, the sheath he held in his hand. His eyes seemed to need no further certainty---they seemed gazing to be bound to the dagger; yet still he wished to disbelieve; but the particular form, the same varying tints upon the haft and sheath were alike in splendour on both, and left no room for doubt; there were also drops of blood on each.

He left Smyrna, and on his way home, at Rome, his first inquiries were concerning the lady he had attempted to snatch from Lord Ruthven's seductive arts. Her parents were in distress, their fortune ruined, and she had not been heard of since the departure of his

lordship. Aubrey's mind became almost broken under so many repeated horrors ; he was afraid that this lady had fallen a victim to the destroyer of Ianthe. He became morose and silent ; and his only occupation consisted in urging the speed of the postilions, as if he were going to save the life of some one he held dear. He arrived at Calais ; a breeze, which seemed obedient to his will, soon wafted him to the English shores ; and he hastened to the mansion of his fathers, and there, for a moment, appeared to lose, in the embraces and caresses of his sister, all memory of the past. If she before, by her infantine caresses, had gained his affection, now that the woman began to appear, she was still more attaching as a companion.

Miss Aubrey had not that winning grace which gains the gaze and applause of the drawing-room assemblies. There was none of that light brilliancy which only exists in the heated atmosphere of a crowded apartment. Her blue eye was never lit up by the levity of the mind beneath. There was a melancholy

charm about it which did not seem to arise from misfortune, but from some feeling within, that appeared to indicate a soul conscious of a brighter realm. Her step was not that light footing, which strays where'er a butterfly or a colour may attract---it was sedate and pensive. When alone, her face was never brightened by the smile of joy; but when her brother breathed to her his affection, and would in her presence forget those griefs she knew destroyed his rest, who would have exchanged her smile for that of the voluptuary? It seemed as if those eyes,---that face were then playing in the light of their own native sphere. She was yet only eighteen, and had not been presented to the world, it having been thought by her guardians more fit that her presentation should be delayed until her brother's return from the continent, when he might be her protector. It was now, therefore, resolved that the next drawing-room, which was fast approaching, should be the epoch of her entry into the "busy scene." Aubrey would rather have remained in the mansion of his fathers, and



fed upon the melancholy which overpowered him. He could not feel interest about the frivolities of fashionable strangers, when his mind had been so torn by the events he had witnessed ; but he determined to sacrifice his own comfort to the protection of his sister. They soon arrived in town, and prepared for the next day, which had been announced as a drawing-room.

The crowd was excessive---a drawing-room had not been held for a long time, and all who were anxious to bask in the smile of royalty, hastened thither. Aubrey was there with his sister. While he was standing in a corner by himself, heedless of all around him, engaged in the remembrance that the first time he had seen Lord Ruthven was in that very place---he felt himself suddenly seized by the arm, and a voice he recognized too well, sounded in his ear---“Remember your oath.” He had hardly courage to turn, fearful of seeing a spectre that would blast him, when he perceived, at a little distance, the same figure which had attracted his notice on this spot upon

his first entry into society. He gazed till his limbs almost refusing to bear their weight, he was obliged to take the arm of a friend, and forcing a passage through the crowd, he threw himself into his carriage, and was driven home. He paced the room with hurried steps, and fixed his hands upon his head, as if he were afraid his thoughts were bursting from his brain. Lord Ruthven again before him---circumstances started up in dreadful array---the dagger---his oath.--- He roused himself, he could not believe it possible---the dead rise again!---He thought his imagination had conjured up the image his mind was resting upon. It was impossible that it could be real---he determined, therefore, to go again into society; for though he attempted to ask concerning Lord Ruthven, the name hung upon his lips, and he could not succeed in gaining information. He went a few nights after with his sister to the assembly of a near relation. Leaving her under the protection of a matron, he retired into a recess, and there gave himself up to his

own devouring thoughts. Perceiving, at last, that many were leaving, he roused himself, and entering another room, found his sister surrounded by several, apparently in earnest conversation; he attempted to pass and get near her, when one, whom he requested to move, turned round, and revealed to him those features he most abhorred. He sprang forward, seized his sister's arm, and, with hurried step, forced her towards the street: at the door he found himself impeded by the crowd of servants who were waiting for their lords; and while he was engaged in passing them, he again heard that voice whisper close to him.—“Remember your oath!”—He did not dare to turn, but, hurrying his sister, soon reached home.

Aubrey became almost distracted. If before his mind had been absorbed by one subject, how much more completely was it engrossed, now that the certainty of the monster's living again pressed upon his thoughts. His sister's attentions were now unheeded, and it was in vain that she intreated him to

explain to her what had caused his abrupt conduct. He only uttered a few words, and those terrified her. The more he thought, the more he was bewildered. His oath startled him;—was he then to allow this monster to roam, bearing ruin upon his breath, amidst all he held dear, and not avert its progress? His very sister might have been touched by him. But even if he were to break his oath, and disclose his suspicions, who would believe him? He thought of employing his own hand to free the world from such a wretch; but death, he remembered, had been already mocked. For days he remained in this state; shut up in his room, he saw no one, and eat only when his sister came, who, with eyes streaming with tears, besought him, for her sake, to support nature. At last, no longer capable of bearing stillness and solitude, he left his house, roamed from street to street, anxious to fly that image which haunted him. His dress became neglected, and he wandered, as often exposed to the noon-day sun as to the mid-night damps. He was no longer to be

recognized ; at first he returned with the evening to the house ; but at last he laid him down to rest wherever fatigue overtook him. His sister, anxious for his safety, employed people to follow him ; but they were soon distanced by him who fled from a pursuer swifter than any---from thought. His conduct, however, suddenly changed. Struck with the idea that he left by his absence the whole of his friends, with a fiend amongst them, of whose presence they were unconscious, he determined to enter again into society, and watch him closely, anxious to forewarn, in spite of his oath, all whom Lord Ruthven approached with intimacy. But when he entered into a room, his haggard and suspicious looks were so striking, his inward shudderings so visible, that his sister was at last obliged to beg of him to abstain from seeking, for her sake, a society which affected him so strongly. When, however, remonstrance proved unavailing, the guardians thought proper to interpose, and, fearing that his mind was becoming alienated, they

thought it high time to resume again that trust which had been before imposed upon them by Aubrey's parents.

Desirous of saving him from the injuries and sufferings he had daily encountered in his wanderings, and of preventing him from exposing to the general eye those marks of what they considered folly, they engaged a physician to reside in the house, and take constant care of him. He hardly appeared to notice it, so completely was his mind absorbed by one terrible subject. His incoherence became at last so great, that he was confined to his chamber. There he would often lie for days, incapable of being roused. He had become emaciated, his eyes had attained a glassy lustre;---the only sign of affection and recollection remaining displayed itself upon the entry of his sister; then he would sometimes start, and, seizing her hands, with looks that severely afflicted her, he would desire her not to touch him. "Oh, do not touch him---if your love for me is aught, do not go near him!" When, however, she

inquired to whom he referred, his only answer was, "True! true! and again he sank into a state, whence not even she could rouse him. This lasted many months: gradually, however, as the year was passing, his incoherences became less frequent, and his mind threw off a portion of its gloom, whilst his guardians observed, that several times in the day he would count upon his fingers a definite number, and then smile.

The time had nearly elapsed, when, upon the last day of the year, one of his guardians entering his room, began to converse with his physician upon the melancholy circumstance of Aubrey's being in so awful a situation, when his sister was going next day to be married. Instantly Aubrey's attention was attracted; he asked anxiously to whom. Glad of this mark of returning intellect, of which they feared he had been deprived; they mentioned the name of the Earl of Marsden. Thinking this was a young Earl whom he had met with in society, Aubrey seemed pleased, and astonished them still more by

his expressing his intention to be present at the nuptials, and desiring to see his sister. They answered not, but in a few minutes his sister was with him. He was apparently again capable of being affected by the influence of her lovely smile; for he pressed her to his breast, and kissed her cheek, wet with tears, flowing at the thought of her brother's being once more alive to the feelings of affection. He began to speak with all his wonted warmth, and to congratulate her upon her marriage with a person so distinguished for rank and every accomplishment; when he suddenly perceived a locket upon her breast; opening it, what was his surprise at beholding the features of the monster who had so long influenced his life. He seized the portrait in a paroxysm of rage, and trampled it under foot. Upon her asking him why he thus destroyed the resemblance of her future husband, he looked as if he did not understand her---then seizing her hands, and gazing on her with a frantic expression of countenance, he bade her swear that she would



never wed this monster, for he----But he could not advance--- it seemed as if that voice again bade him remember his oath---he turned suddenly round, thinking Lord Ruthven was near him but saw no one. In the meantime the guardians and physician, who had heard the whole, and thought this was but a return of his disorder, entered, and forcing him from Miss Aubrey, desired her to leave him. He fell upon his knees to them, he implored, he begged of them to delay but for one day. They, attributing this to the insanity they imagined had taken possession of his mind, endeavoured to pacify him, and retired.

Lord Ruthven had called the morning after the drawing-room, and had been refused with every one else. When he heard of Aubrey's ill health, he readily understood himself to be the cause of it ; but when he learned that he was deemed insane, his exultation and pleasure could hardly be concealed from those among whom he had gained this information. He hastened to the house of his former companion, and, by constant attendance, and the

pretence of great affection for the brother and interest in his fate, he gradually won the ear of Miss Aubrey. Who, could resist his power? His tongue had dangers and toils to recount—could speak of himself as of an individual having no sympathy with any being on the crowded earth, save with her to whom he addressed himself;—could tell how, since he knew her, his existence had begun to seem worthy of preservation, if it were merely that he might listen to her soothing accents;—in fine, he knew so well how to use the serpent's art, or such was the will of fate, that he gained her affections. The title of the elder branch falling at length to him, he obtained an important embassy, which served as an excuse for hastening the marriage, (in spite of her brother's deranged state,) which was to take place the very day before his departure for the continent.

Aubrey, when he was left by the physician and his guardians, attempted to bribe the servants, but in vain. He asked for pen and paper; it was given him; he wrote a letter

to his sister, conjuring her, as she valued her own happiness, her own honour, and the honour of those now in the grave, who once held her in their arms as their hope and the hope of their house, to delay but for a few hours that marriage, on which he denounced the most heavy curses. The servants promised they would deliver it ; but giving it to the physician, he thought it better not to harass any more the mind of Miss Aubrey by, what he considered, the ravings of a maniac. Night passed on without rest to the busy inmates of the house ; and Aubrey heard, with a horror that may more easily be conceived than described, the notes of busy preparation. Morning came, and the sound of carriages broke upon his ear. Aubrey grew almost frantic. The curiosity of the servants at last overcame their vigilance, they gradually stole away, leaving him in the custody of an helpless old woman. He seized the opportunity, with one bound was out of the room, and in a moment found himself in the apartment where all were nearly assembled

Lord Ruthven was the first to perceive him : he immediately approached, and, taking his arm by force, hurried him from the room, speechless with rage. When on the staircase, Lord Ruthven whispered in his ear—"Remember your oath, and know, if not my bride to day, your sister is dishonoured. Women are frail !" So saying, he pushed him towards his attendants, who, roused by the old woman, had come in search of him. Aubrey could no longer support himself ; his rage not finding vent, had broken a blood-vessel, and he was conveyed to bed. This was not mentioned to his sister, who was not present when he entered, as the physician was afraid of agitating her. The marriage was solemnized, and the bride and bridegroom left London.

Aubrey's weakness increased ; the effusion of blood produced symptoms of the near approach of death. He desired his sister's guardians might be called, and when the midnight hour had struck, he related com-

posedly what the reader has perused—he died immediately after.

The guardians hastened to protect Miss Aubrey ; but when they arrived, it was too late. Lord Ruthven had disappeared, and Aubrey's sister had glutted the thirst of a VAMPIRE!

**EXTRACT OF A LETTER,**  
**CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**LORD BYRON'S RESIDENCE**  
**IN THE**  
**ISLAND, OF MITYLENE.**



ACCOUNT  
OF  
LORD BYRON'S RESIDENCE,  
&c.

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“The world was all before him, where to choose his place of rest, and Providence his guide.”

IN sailing through the Grecian Archipelago, on board one of his Majesty's vessels, in the year 1812, we put into the harbour of Mitylene, in the island of that name. The beauty of this place, and the certain supply of cattle and vegetables always to be had there, induce many British vessels to visit it---both men of war and merchantmen; and though it lies rather out of the track for ships bound to Smyrna, its bounties amply repay for the deviation of a voyage. We landed, as usual, at the bottom of the bay, and whilst the men were employed in watering, and the purser bargaining for cattle with the natives, the clergyman and myself took a ramble to the



cave called Homer's School, and other places, where we had been before. On the brow of Mount Ida (a small monticule so named) we met with and engaged a young Greek as our guide, who told us he had come from Scio with an English lord, who left the island four days previous to our arrival in his felucca. "He engaged me as a pilot," said the Greek, "and would have taken me with him; but I did not choose to quit Mitylene, where I am likely to get married. He was an odd, but a very good man. The cottage over the hill, facing the river, belongs to him, and he has left an old man in charge of it: he gave Dominick, the wine-trader, six hundred zechines for it, (about 250*l.* English currency,) and has resided there, about fourteen months, though not constantly; for he sails in his felucca very often to the different islands."

This account excited our curiosity very much, and we lost no time in hastening to the house where our countryman had resided. We were kindly received by an old man, who conducted us over the mansion. It

consisted of four apartments on the ground-floor---an entrance hall, a drawing-room, a sitting parlour, and a bed-room, with a spacious closet annexed. They were all simply decorated : plain green-stained walls, marble tables on either side, a large myrtle in the centre, and a small fountain beneath, which could be made to play through the branches by moving a spring fixed in the side of a small bronze Venus in a leaning posture ; a large couch or sofa completed the furniture. In the hall stood half a dozen English cane chairs, and an empty book-case : there were no mirrors, nor a single painting. The bed-chamber had merely a large mattress spread on the floor, with two stuffed cotton quilts and a pillow---the common bed throughout Greece. In the sitting-room we observed a marble rebus, formerly, the old man told us, filled with books and papers, which were then in a large seaman's chest in the closet : it was open, but we did not think ourselves justified in examining the contents. On the tablet of the recess lay Voltaire's, Shakspeare's,

Boileau's, and Rousseau's works complete ; Volney's Ruins of Empires ; Zimmerman, in the German language ; Klopstock's Messiah ; Kotzebue's novels ; Schiller's play of the Robbers ; Milton's Paradise Lost, an Italian edition, printed at Parma in 1810 ; several small pamphlets from the Greek press at Constantinople, much torn, but no English book of any description. Most of these books were filled with marginal notes, written with a pencil, in Italian and Latin. The Messiah was literally scribbled all over, and marked with slips of paper, on which also were remarks.

The old man said : " The lord had been reading these books the evening before he sailed, and forgot to place them with the others ; but," said he, " there they must lie until his return ; for he is so particular, that were I to move one thing without orders, he would frown upon me for a week together ; he is otherways very good. I once did him a service ; and I have the produce of this farm for the trouble of taking care of it, except

twenty zechines which I pay to an aged Armenian who resides in a small cottage in the wood, and whom the lord brought here from Adrianople ; I don't know for what reason."

The appearance of the house externally was pleasing. The portico in front was fifty paces long and fourteen broad, and the fluted marble pillars with black plinths and fret-work cornices, (as it is now customary in Grecian architecture,) were considerably higher than the roof. The roof, surrounded by a light stone balustrade, was covered by a fine Turkey carpet, beneath an awning of strong coarse linen. Most of the house-tops are thus furnished, as upon them the Greeks pass their evenings in smoking, drinking light wines, such as "lachryma christi," eating fruit, and enjoying the evening breeze.

On the left hand as we entered the house, a small streamlet glided away, grapes, oranges and limes were clustering together on its borders, and under the shade of two large myrtle bushes, a marble seat with an ornamental wooden back was placed, on which

we were told, the lord passed many of his evenings and nights till twelve o'clock, reading, writing, and talking to himself. "I suppose," said the old man, "*praying*," for he was very devout, and always attended our church twice a week, besides Sundays."

The view from this seat was what may be termed "a bird's-eye view." A line of rich vineyards led the eye to Mount Calca, covered with olive and myrtle trees in bloom, and on the summit of which an ancient Greek temple appeared in majestic decay. A small stream issuing from the ruins descended in broken cascades, until it was lost in the woods near the mountain's base. The sea smooth as glass, and an horizon unshadowed by a single cloud, terminates the view in front; and a little on the left, through a vista of lofty chesnut and palm-trees, several small islands were distinctly observed, studding the light blue wave with spots of emerald green. I seldom enjoyed a view more than I did this; but our enquiries were fruitless as to the name of the person who had resided in

this romantic solitude; none knew his name but Dominick, his banker, who had gone to Candia. "The Armenian," said our conductor, "could tell, but I am sure he will not."---"And cannot you tell, old friend?" said I---"If I can," said he, "I dare not." We had not time to visit the Armenian, but on our return to the town we learnt several particulars of the isolated lord. He had portioned eight young girls when he was last upon the island, and even *danced* with them at the nuptial feast. He gave a cow to one man, horses to others, and cotton and silk to the girls who live by weaving these articles. He also bought a new boat for a fisherman who had lost his own in a gale, and he often gave Greek Testaments to the poor children. In short, he appeared to us, from all we collected, to have been a very eccentric and benevolent character. One circumstance we learnt, which our old friend, at the cottage thought proper not to disclose. He had a most beautiful daughter, with whom the lord was often seen walking on the sea-shore, and he

had bought her a piano-forte, and taught her himself the use of it.

Such was the information with which we departed from the peaceful isle of Mitylene ; our imaginations all on the rack, guessing who this Rambler in Greece could be. He had money it was evident : he had philanthropy of disposition, and all those eccentricities which mark peculiar genius. Arrived at Palermo, all our doubts were dispelled. Falling in company with Mr. FOSTER, the architect, a pupil of WYATT'S, who had been travelling in Egypt and Greece, "The individual," said he, "about whom you are so anxious, is Lord Byron ; I met him in my travels on the island of Tenedos, and I also visited him at Mitylene." We had never then heard of his lordship's fame, as we had been some years from home ; but "Childe Harolde" being put into our hands we recognized the recluse of Calcia in every page. Deeply did we regret not having been more curious in our researches at the cottage, but we consoled ourselves with the idea of returning to Mitylene on some future day ;

but to me that day will never return. I make this statement, believing it not quite uninteresting, and in justice to his lordship's good name, which has been grossly slandered. He has been described as of an unfeeling disposition, averse to associating with human nature, or contributing in any way to sooth its sorrows, or add to its pleasures. The fact is directly the reverse, as may be plainly gathered from these little anecdotes. All the finer feelings of the heart, so elegantly depicted in his lordship's poems, seem to have their seat in his bosom. Tenderness, sympathy, and charity appear to guide all his actions: and his courting the repose of solitude is an additional reason for marking him as a being on whose heart Religion hath set her seal, and over whose head Benevolence hath thrown her mantle. No man can read the preceding pleasing "traits" without feeling proud of him as a countryman. With respect to his loves or pleasures, I do not assume a right to give an opinion. Reports are ever to be received with caution, particularly when directed



against man's moral integrity ; and he who dares justify himself before that awful tribunal where all must appear, alone may censure the errors of a fellow-mortal. Lord Byron's character is worthy of his genius. To do good in secret, and shun the world's applause, is the surest testimony of a virtuous heart and self-approving conscience.

THE END















